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VOYAGES ROUND THE WORLD.

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VOYAGES

ROUND THE WORLD,

FROM THE

DEATH OF CAPTAIN COOK TO THE PRESENT TIME;

INCLUDING

REMARKS ON THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF THE INHABITANTS IN THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED COUNTRIES; THEIR PROGRESS IN THE ARTS; AND MORE ESPECIALLY THEIR ADVANCEMENT IN RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE.

EDINBURGH:
OLIVER & BOYD, TWEEDDALE COURT;
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MDCCCXLIII.

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PREFACE.

This Volume may in some respects be considered a continuation of No. XXI. of the Edinburgh Cabinet Library, in which is given a history of the various voyages round the world prior to the death of the celebrated Captain Cook.

Since the beginning of the present century, the circumnavigation of the globe has been an event of very frequent occurrence, occasioned as well by the increasing importance of our possessions in the Pacific Ocean, as by the repeated attempts which have been made, especially since the peace of 1814, to complete a minute survey of the western shores of North America. Many of the ships which proceeded outward by Tierra del Fuego, returned home by the Cape of Good Hope; while others, inverting the order of their course, equally effected an acquaintance with all the meridians of the earth before they could again reach the point of their departure, whether from Toulon, Cronstadt, New York, or the English Channel.

Among the various navigators whom such a retrospect, however brief, replaces in the recollection of the reader, there is not one whose fate excites deeper commiseration than that of La Perouse. To a high character for humanity he added a respectable knowledge of his

profession as a seaman, and an ardent desire to accomplish the important objects which had led to the equipment of the expedition placed under his command. The obscurity so long connected with the fatal issue of his enterprise, created a profound interest in all quarters of the civilized world; a feeling to which we are indebted for several important voyages on the part of the French, more especially those of D'Entrecasteaux and Dumont D'Urville.

The Russians, whose interests now comprehend a large portion of the American coast as well as the eastern shores of Asia, have, during the period under consideration, made several efforts for extending our knowledge in regard to those little frequented seas, straits, and bays which mark the outline of either continent in the higher latitudes of the north. Viewed in this light, the voyages of Krusenstern, Kotzebue, and Lutké are acknowledged on all hands to possess no small degree of value.

To an English reader, perhaps, even though more than seventy years have elapsed since their first discovery by our countrymen, the present condition of the Sandwich and Society Islands is more interesting than any other subject which the circumnavigator can bring forward. In respect to the former group, it is known to every one that the sovereignty has been repeatedly offered to the British crown, in as formal terms as the language of the simple rulers could supply. This gift has been in effect declined; an assurance of protection being deemed more suitable to the dignity of the one party and the wants of the other.

A short time ago, however, some injury having been sustained by our mercantile or nautical concerns in that quarter, Lord George Paulet, who commanded the

Carysfort frigate in the South Sea, placed the whole cluster under a species of interdict; assuring the reigning prince, Tamehameha III., that, until satisfaction were made, the whole of his dominions would be held as confiscated to the Queen of England. The matter at issue was in due time referred to the government of London, who forthwith directed the captain to withdraw his claim, and to announce, as the decision of the cabinet and the pleasure of her majesty, that the Sandwich Islands should still be independent. At the particular desire of the king, the grant of protection was renewed, and a treaty of commerce has been concluded, in virtue of which it is stipulated that all British manufactures and produce shall be admitted free into the different ports.

Matters are not on a footing either so favourable or so promising at Otaheite, where the French interest has again assumed a superiority, equally offensive to the natives and to the English who have occasion to touch on the coast. It is manifest that, if the cabinets of St James's and the Tuilleries do not establish some general principles to regulate the intercourse of their ships of war at the Society Islands, a painful collision will soon take place. The rage for colonies which at present agitates the maritime department of the French administration, will, there is too much reason to fear, drive them to measures as much at variance with sound policy as with the maxims of justice. Perhaps the excitement occasioned by religious zeal supplies to the immediate actors a motive more powerful than they are willing to recognise; while it is not less apparent that the naval officers on both sides are becoming extremely sensitive as to the honour of their respective flags, and would be easily provoked into actual hostilities. On

no occasion is Pomare allowed to exercise the privilege of a free agent; and it cannot therefore be surprising that her resolutions should be found to alter with the character of the foreigners who, for the time, assume the direction of her affairs and dictate to her feeble court. The French still maintain the right, asserted two years ago by Admiral Dupetit Thouars, of exercising a "protectorate" over the Society Islands, from the rules and restrictions of which not even her majesty is exempted. In vain has the British consul remonstrated against such an infringement of the independence which was conceded, if not guaranteed, by the ministers of George the Third to the descendants of the remarkable chief, under whose auspices the seeds of knowledge and of divine truth were first sown in that interesting portion of the globe.

During the last twenty years the fruits of maritime enterprise have shown themselves in a minuter acquaintance with lands formerly known, rather than in the discovery of any important group of islands, new system of interior waters, or even in the more correct delineation of the eastern shores of the two older continents. Comparatively little has been done to illustrate the geographical character or social institutions which distinguish those vast tracts of country that extend between Natal Bay and Babelmandeb on the one hand, and on the other, between the Gulf of Siam and the northern point of Kamtschatka. Much no doubt has been accomplished in the Pacific, beginning at the Strait of Magellan and including the wide sweep of the American coast, the Marian, the Philippine, the Caroline, the Polynesian Islands, as well as the rising colonies which are now usually classed under the head of Australia. Still, the exploits of Vancouver, Bougainville, Beechey,

La Place, and even of Ross, bear little resemblance to those of the older voyagers; not because the former have shown themselves less skilful or persevering, but simply because the field of discovery on any large scale is in a great measure exhausted.

It is perhaps in respect to science that the greatest triumph has been gained over the obscurities of nature in the remote parts of the earth. Regarded as a branch of those facts and theories which relate to the physical constitution of our planet, to the forces which bind together its mass, regulate the structure of its surface, explain the history of its past changes, as well as the infinitely varied affections of the air and ocean, the study of terrestrial magnetism occupies a highly interesting place. No single observer, whatever may be his zeal or industry, and no series of observations, however exact or long continued, if made at a single place, can supply such a degree of knowledge as the exigencies of navigation require. To effect the purpose so much desired by all maritime states, a comparison of the results attained in every region of the globe, and extended over long periods of time, is absolutely requisite. In order to master so vast a subject, concert and combination have been found quite indispensable: it is necessary to fix and reduce under general heads the phenomena of the passing moment, and to present them to the eye of science in that methodical arrangement which brings spontaneously into notice both their agreements and their differences.

To accomplish an object so important to our knowledge of the laws of nature as well as of practical philosophy, the principal powers of Europe have at length united their endeavours with a degree of zeal and unanimity which no other object, since the era of the Crusades,

has succeeded in calling forth. The result, too, generally speaking, has been equal to the pains bestowed upon it in both hemispheres, and in the highest latitudes to which the traveller by sea or land has been able to penetrate. Duperrey and Freycinet supplied on their return many observations accurately registered and well defined; but a still more valuable accession to the stores of scientific information, in the particular research now specified, has been made by the voyage towards the South Pole conducted by Captains Ross and Crozier. The reader cannot fail to look forward with much impatience to an authentic detail of the proceedings which marked the progress of these distinguished officers, during the long period spent by them in that stormy sea which, amidst desert islands and fields of ice, stretches beyond the antarctic circle.

NOVEMBER 1843.

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VOYAGES
ROUND THE WORLD.

CHAPTER I.

Efforts made by Spain, England, and France in the Northern Pacific and on the North-western Shores of America.

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The first fruits of the successful voyage performed by Captain Cook on the north-western shores of America, appeared in a very general spirit of enterprise, both among political rulers and mercantile men, who resolved to combine, as far as might be practicable, the honours of discovery with the advantages of trade. During the repeated visits made by European navigators to those

remote waters which separate the two great continents, it was observed that the natives of the adjoining coasts were in possession of valuable furs, for which a ready market has always been found in China, Russia, England, and France.

In addition to these views, in which commercial interest might be considered the predominant motive, Spain felt herself influenced by a jealousy, far from unreasonable, in regard to her right of property and dominion in that portion of the New World to which adventure was now directed. On the other hand, the ministers of Louis the Sixteenth, sensible that Great Britain, by the exertions of her seamen in every section of the globe, had gained at once a high reputation and a vast accession of power, determined to imitate her ambition in the same path and by the use of similar means. Meanwhile, the merchants of London, less restricted in their operations than even the cabinet of a despotic monarch, perceived that a portion of their capital might be profitably invested in the purchase of furs; and, in pursuance of this object, certain individuals of their number procured a charter from the South Sea Company, to whom belonged the exclusive privilege of trading in that part of the world, investing them with the sole right of carrying on this traffic to whatever extent they might deem expedient. As the principal movements began from the three sources just mentioned, we shall consider them separately; having satisfied ourselves that, both as to their respective intentions and the manner in which they were gradually developed, they will throw light on one another.

The Spaniards, about the year 1775, sent out a small squadron under the command of Francisco de la Bodega, in order to protect their interests in the higher latitudes of the American coast, and at the same time to watch the proceedings of the English in the Pacific, who had recently made extensive discoveries in that quarter. The only account of this expedition which has reached our days was drawn up by Maurelle, who sailed in the

capacity of pilot—an office at that period not destitute of a certain degree of rank and respectability in the navies of foreign states. Two years later, the same individual undertook a similar voyage, of which some details have been preserved; and in 1780 he was again employed by the governor of the Philippines to carry despatches from Manilla to Mexico, in the execution of which order he resolved to add a more general importance to his voyage, by proceeding in an unusual track where he might possibly make some accessions to the dependencies of the Spanish crown. The particulars of this mission, bequeathed to the public through the medium of La Perouse, are not of much interest; and would not, perhaps, have been noticed at this stage of our progress, were it not that they contain statements, the accuracy of which has been called in question by subsequent navigators, whose strictures could not otherwise be fully understood. Owing to the vague manner in which the position of certain groups is determined, and more especially the indistinctness which marks all his entries of longitude, the most careful reader finds it very difficult to arrive at the conclusion whether Maurelle really detected the existence of unknown lands, or has merely given new names to clusters which had been formerly visited. We shall therefore proceed at once to the volumes of Portlock and Dixon, who about the same time effected a voyage round the world.

Both the officers just named, who had sailed under the command of Captain Cook, were selected on account of their experience as seamen, as well as for their knowledge of the coast towards which their main exertions were to be directed. It has been already mentioned that a body of merchants in the metropolis had procured a charter from the South Sea Company, authorizing them to carry on trade in the northern Pacific; and, in pursuance of this object, two vessels, the King George and the Queen Charlotte, were fitted out in the spring of the year 1785, the former being committed to the charge of Captain Portlock, the latter to that of Mr

Dixon. The principal object of this enterprise, it is candidly admitted, was not discovery, but the establishment of commercial relations with the native tribes on the western shores of North America, the value of whose furs, as already noticed, was no longer unknown in the great marts of Europe and of Asia.

The adventurers left England in the month of August; and, without encountering any accident or making a single observation worthy of notice, they arrived in January 1786 at the Falkland Islands. As this settlement, now rising into some degree of importance, is recognised as a regular colony, subject to the laws and placed under the protection of the British government, the reader will not be displeased if furnished with some details relative to the history and capabilities of the little group of which it is composed. It is well known that they are situated between latitude 51° 40′ and 52° 10′ S., and longitude 57° 30′ and 60° W. The two larger islands, which are distinguished by their position as East and West Falkland, are separated by Carlisle Strait, which is about ten miles in width; and the surface of both, taken as a whole, is estimated at not less than three thousand four hundred square miles. The islets by which they are surrounded are numerous, but not of much value; being the retreat only of sea-birds, and of those amphibious animals which seem to delight equally in the land and in the water. The northern districts in both the principal islands have a mountainous character, though the highest ground, we are assured, does not much exceed two thousand feet above the surface of the ocean. At the foot of the hills the plain stretches in some places to the extent of fifteen miles along the margin of the sea; and the southern districts are in general level. The coast being much indented, the harbours are numerous and excellent; among which may be mentioned Berkeley Sound in the western island, and Port Egmont in the eastern, both having sufficient depth of water for ships of the line, and a safe anchoring-ground. The climate, it is said,

does not differ much from that of Great Britain, though it is admitted that the weather is still more unsteady. Fogs darken the atmosphere in the mornings throughout spring and autumn; but in winter snow usually disappears in the course of a few hours, and the frost is never intense.

The soil of East Falkland is well adapted to cultivation, consisting generally of a black vegetable mould, from six to eight inches in depth. Wheat and flax have been raised with considerable success; and potatoes, cabbages, turnips, and similar productions, are obtained of an excellent quality. It is not doubted that all the crops which cover the fields in England might be brought to maturity, and that even fruit-trees would succeed in sheltered places, though the progress of horticulture has not hitherto been marked by any signal triumph over the disadvantages of nature. Domestic animals from Britain would find the climate not at all unfavourable to their increase. The Europeans who occupied these islands about a hundred years ago, left behind them, when their settlements were broken up, several species of quadrupeds; the greater part of which, though they have not improved their qualities, continue to enlarge their numbers. There are herds of cattle and of hogs in a wild state; the horses are small, but very hardy; and the rabbits, which are numerous and large in body, present a very fine fur.

The history of these islands is not destitute of importance; though their value as a colony must be confined, perhaps, to their position, and not extended to their spontaneous productions, which, taken by themselves, can never constitute the basis of a lucrative trade. They were first discovered, in 1594, by Hawkins, who, in compliment to his sovereign, it may be presumed, called them the Maiden Islands; and nearly a hundred years afterwards they were seen by Strong, who, not aware that their existence had been formerly made known, gave them the name which they now bear. In 1764, the French formed on Berkeley Sound a settlement

which they called St Louis; but after the lapse of three years it was given up to the Spaniards, by whom it was subsequently abandoned. In 1765, the English established themselves at Port Egmont, from whence, in 1770, they were expelled by a body of warriors from Spain; an act of violence which nearly involved the two monarchies in war. Our countrymen, when restored to their possessions, finding little inducement to remain, voluntarily relinquished the station after an occupation of only four years; but about the beginning of the present century, when the whale-fishery in those seas assumed a new importance, the Falkland Islands again attracted attention, and drew to their principal harbours a more resolute class of settlers. Port Egmont was once more supplied with people, as well from among those who were interested in the great fishing establishments in the Antarctic Ocean, as by the adventurers who wished to profit by the flourishing trade on the western coast of South America, now laid open, by the revolution in the Spanish colonies, to all the nations of the world. It is related that, in a brief space after this facility was provided, nearly a hundred large ships touched at the islands, and availed themselves of the ample accommodation provided for the seamen of all friendly states.*

The author of the volume which passes under the name of Dixon was altogether ignorant of navigation, and his book accordingly is more interesting to the general reader than that of Portlock, which, besides being full of professional terms, displays little acquaintance with the ordinary pursuits of life. At the period when the King George and the Queen Charlotte reached Port Egmont, hardly any thing met the eye which was

* Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. iii. p. 94. The Falkland Islands, about the year 1771, derived from the spirit of party in England an importance which they could not in any other way have obtained. The celebrated Junius attacked the ministry for their tame submission to the supposed insult inflicted by Spain; and Dr John, in an able pamphlet, defended the conduct of government, whose motives, he maintained, were not understood. See John's Works, and the Letters of Junius, Nos. 42 and 43.

not calculated to excite regret and even some degree of resentment. The town was in ruins, but near the place which it had occupied were some small pieces of ground enclosed with turf, which, no doubt, were intended for gardens, as it might easily be perceived that they had once been in a cultivated state. In one of them were found several sorts of flowers and some fine horse-radish.

It is said that the soil near the port is of a light free nature, and well calculated for meadow or pasture land; but it is added that in many places it is no easy matter to tell of what it is composed, for the various plants have grown and rotted and grown again, till numbers of large hillocks are formed, from the tops of which spring rank blades of grass, which, naturally inclining to each other, form a kind of arch, and afford an occasional retreat to the seal, the sea-lion, penguin, and to such other animals as abound on the coast. On the beach were great numbers of geese and ducks, but much smaller and of a different species from the English: they are tame and easily run down. The sailors were much elated on seeing them, imagining that they should live luxuriously during their stay; but in this they were grievously disappointed, for both were found exceedingly rank and fishy, owing no doubt to their constantly feeding on marine productions. Besides these were observed the Port Egmont hen and the albatross; the former of which is a very ravenous bird, resembling a hawk, but somewhat larger; the latter belongs to the species which Pennant has characterized as the "wandering," although no token of its migratory habits has yet been discovered. It is manifest that it breeds in the Falkland Islands; for while Portlock and Dixon were there, hundreds of them were seen sitting on their nests, and great numbers of young were scarcely fledged.*

* Voyage round the World by Captain George Dixon, 1 vol. 4to, 1789, p. 42. Mr Darwin, in his interesting work on the natural history of these islands, states that their geological structure is in most respects simple. "The lower country consists of clay-slate and sandstone associated together, and the hills of white granular quartz

Some years passed before any particular attention was paid to this colony, the value of which had been not a little depreciated in the controversy that followed the attack by Junius on the policy of the British cabinet. It was not till the emancipation of South America from the Spanish dominion gave rise to new prospects of commerce on the shores of Chili and Peru, that the maritime powers on both continents manifested an unequivocal desire to possess so convenient a station, uniting, in some degree, the Pacific with the Atlantic. After the event just noticed, the Argentine government made a grant of East Falkland to John Louis Vernet, who, having surmounted many difficulties, was advancing prosperously in his attempt at colonization, when he unwisely seized two vessels belonging to Buenos Ayres, the crews of which were engaged in catching seals. In consequence of this aggression, the republicans landed a body of men from a ship of war, who broke up his gardens, razed his buildings, and carried away all his servants as prisoners. The result of this outrage was the entire annihilation of Vernet's settlement; and the islands themselves were for a time the common property of all seafaring persons, whom the want of supplies or the desire of relaxation might induce to enter the harbours.

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rock; the strata of the latter are frequently arched with perfect symmetry, and the appearance of some of the masses is in consequence most singular. As a passage between the quartz and sandstone can be traced, it seems probable that the former owes its origin to the sandstone having been heated to such an excess that it became viscid, and upon cooling crystallized; while in the soft state it must have been pushed up through the overlying beds. In many parts of the islands, the bottoms of the valleys are covered in an extraordinary manner with myriads of great angular fragments of the quartz rock. These have been mentioned with surprise by every voyager since the time of Pernety. The whole may be called a stream of stones; the blocks vary in size from that of a man's chest to ten or twenty times as large, and occasionally they altogether exceed such measures."—P. 354.

It appears that the subsoil in some parts is a yellow earth, being the surface of the yellow sandstone partially decomposed: but the true soil consists of vegetable matter, and is, as might be expected, sufficiently fertile.

It now became a question between the rulers of the United States and the masters of the rising commonwealth on the banks of La Plata, which of the two governments had the better right to the Falkland group. In the discussion which ensued, the representative of the former observed, that if any nation in the world had a better claim to them than his own, it was Great Britain; a concession which afterwards shut the mouth of the President when the English sent out a force to secure possession. There cannot be any doubt that if our ministers had not taken this decisive step the rival republics would have gone to war; and considering their relative power on the ocean, the issue of the contest could not have been long in suspense. On all accounts, therefore, the policy of this measure must be pronounced at once seasonable and wise, inasmuch as it prevented those islands from falling into the hands of an ambitious foe, who, in the event of hostilities, would have used them as the key of the Pacific, and dictated the conditions on which trade should be enjoyed with the numerous tribes beyond the verge of Cape Horn.

Great advantages, in a commercial point of view, will probably arise now that the Falklands are formed into a regular settlement, with an enterprising officer as governor. It is well known that our homeward-bound ships from New South Wales and the republics of Chili, Peru, and Western Colombia, are often obliged to put into some port in the Brazils for water and provisions; but there can be no doubt that as soon as it shall be generally known they can procure both in Berkeley Sound, they will prefer it, particularly because it is quite in their track, whereas they must run far to leeward in sailing to any harbour on the mainland. As our mercantile relations with the rising states on the western shores of America increase, the beneficial effects of having a regular colony at the Falklands will become more apparent; for besides Port Louis being more convenient to our merchantmen than any station in Brazil, the certainty of *procuring* supplies at a much

lower rate than in any other country, will be a great inducement to touch at a British settlement. They will also escape the various lighthouse and harbour dues, which are rather high on the American continent. The English whalers will, in like manner, derive considerable benefit from colonization in this quarter; but in a naval point of view, more especially, the advantages are obvious whether for attack or defence. Few vessels in time of war could sail to Australia, New Zealand, or the numerous clusters near the Equator, except under the English flag, without manifest risk of capture. The extreme anxiety of the Spaniards, as long as they had any territorial interest in the New World, the violence they used, the arts and negotiations they employed, to wrest these islands from us, show the importance they attached to them, with reference to the navigation of the Pacific, in days too when the commercial capabilities of that ocean were little known. A small depôt under the auspices of the Admiralty will secure an essential convenience to our smaller ships of war, as the nearest naval station, the Cape of Good Hope, is some thousand miles distant. At present our officers are dependent for aid, in that quarter of the globe, on foreigners, who, if from policy they do not refuse supplies, charge for them an exorbitant price.

It was in December 1832 that the British admiral at Rio de Janeiro received orders to send without delay an armed vessel to re-hoist the national colours on the Falklands. The attention of our government was drawn to the subject, in consequence of the dispute already noticed between the cabinets of Washington and Buenos Ayres; and hence the resolution, now adopted, of asserting the prior claim of the English crown to the exercise of sovereignty in that remote part of the world. The sloop Clio was immediately despatched under the command of Captain Onslow, who forthwith planted the royal standard both at Port Egmont in the western, and at Port Louis in the eastern island. The ship Tyne was shortly afterwards sent on the same duty, lest the

other should have encountered any formidable resistance from the Buenos Ayreans, who had been some time established there, in the form of a garrison; but it was found that the Clio had already taken peaceable possession, owing chiefly to the fact that the foreign governor had been previously murdered by some of his own troops, and the assassins taken into custody by the crew of a French merchantman. Lieutenant Smith, with four seamen of the Tyne who had volunteered to accompany him, assumed the duties of commandant, which he discharged with great zeal in circumstances extremely unfavourable to the exercise of regular authority. Some Indian gauchos, or natives of America, were allowed to remain when the British landed; and these barbarians, insensible to the protection they enjoyed, availed themselves so far of the temporary absence of this officer, as to plunder his house and put to death six Europeans. Such evils can no longer occur, because, in order to control the proceedings of whalers and such strangers as may happen to visit the coast, a ship of war is regularly stationed in the sound, where the imperial flag is always displayed, and to the commander of which all offenders are amenable.* Still it appears that the Falkland Islands, so far from being fully colonized, are, generally speaking, allowed to lie waste. From the erroneous impressions which continue to prevail throughout the merchant service, of the boisterous climate and the danger attending the approach to the harbours, very few ships enter the bays; but when it is known that the ports are at once accessible and safe, and that abundant supplies may be obtained on moderate terms, the prejudice, we may hope, will altogether cease.†

* United Service Journal, 1834, part iii. p. 337, where is inserted a communication from a "Commissioned Officer in the Royal Navy," together with "Extracts from a Private Journal;" both obviously written by individuals who must have resided in the islands.

† "Some Account of the Falkland Islands, from a Six Months' Residence in 1838 and 1839. By L. B. Mackinnon, R. N. London, 1840. "The climate of *these islands*," says this author, "may be

Upon leaving the Falklands, Portlock and Dixon shaped their course for the Sandwich Isles, where they expected to find a supply of provisions, wood, and water. In these respects they enjoyed not the full measure of success which they had been led to anticipate; wherefore, after procuring some yams and a few hogs, they again weighed anchor, standing to the north-west under the influence of moderate breezes. On the 13th July 1786, they entered Cook's River, leaving the Barren Islands to the southward and eastward. Both wind and tide being in their favour, they proceeded along the eastern shore, with the view of reaching Anchor Point, where they meant to pass the night; but about seven in the evening they were surprised by the report of a gun, which issued from a bay about four miles distant. Upon inquiry, it was discovered that a party of Russians had formed a temporary settlement on the coast, for the purpose of trading with the natives, whom they were pleased to describe as at once very quarrelsome and vindictive. To this recess the English gave the name of Coal Harbour, from the circumstance of their discovering a small vein of that mineral near the south-eastern point.

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said to resemble that of Ireland in its mildness, without being so damp; perhaps even it may be more like that of the western isles of Scotland, equally mild and more dry, and as healthy. When drained and cultivated, the produce must be beyond calculation great, and the hardy peasants of Connaught or of the Hebrides, might there find, in a climate congenial to their own, all the benefits of cultivation. One thing is certain: in parts of the British Islands the population rather exceeds the means of subsistence; in the Falklands the means of subsistence are ready for thousands, and might be extended for millions. In most countries the settlers have to clear woods, to turn up land, and to sow and reap, and a year may elapse before any return from the soil can be obtained: in the Falklands, the wild cattle, and the multitude of other animals fit for man's use, are ready at hand, and the means of living in plenty are secured to the settlers to the fullest extent."—P. 71.

Dixon, pp. 60, 61. In reference to the Falkland group this author observes, that "we need not wonder at the Spaniards envying us the possession of these islands, as their situation commands the passage to the Spanish settlements in the South Sea;" an opinion held by later and more experienced navigators.

The historian of this voyage remarks that the adjacent country is very mountainous: the hills which slope down to the shore are quite encumbered with pines, intermixed with birch, alder, and various other trees and shrubs, whilst the more distant ridges, whose summits outreach the clouds, are completely covered with snow, and have the appearance of everlasting winter. Though it was the latter end of July, the weather was cold, damp, and disagreeable, with frequent showers of sleet; and the surrounding prospect, it need not be added, was most dreary and uncomfortable.

At this period the natives were friendly, and brought what furs they happened to possess, having already sold the best to the Russians, who considered them as slaves bound to obey their commands. Salmon was in such abundance, that a good fish was obtained for a single bead: they were indeed so plentiful, that, if the sailors refused to purchase, the generous savages threw them on board without demanding any price. On the fifth of August, the officers resolved to leave Cook's River, being convinced, from the poverty which every where prevailed, that the materials for a cargo no longer existed. The appearance and manners of the inhabitants are so well described by the great navigator whose name this inlet bears, that it would be quite superfluous to add any details in regard to their aspect or the usages of life. They seem not to have fixed on any particular spot for their residence, but remove from place to place as best suits their convenience or inclination. It is probable that they are divided into clans or tribes; for in every canoe which approached the ships there was at least one person who appeared to have an authority superior to the rest, and who, in virtue of his station, not only directed their traffic but also maintained a certain degree of subordination.

Upon leaving Cook's River the adventurers attempted to enter Prince William's Sound, but, owing to bad weather, were altogether unsuccessful. Nor were the elements more propitious when they endeavoured to force

a passage into King George's Sound; their path being encumbered by shoals and small islands, which, towards the close of September, proved exceedingly dangerous, particularly during the night. It was therefore resolved to return to the Sandwich archipelago, where they hoped to find at once a good supply of provisions and a comfortable asylum till the season for action should again call them to the American coast.*

On the passage towards their winter quarters, considerable pains were taken to discover an island called Santa Maria la Gorta, which is laid down in Cook's chart in lat. 27° 30′ N. and long. 149° W. Being aware of the source of error in this case, as well as in respect to certain other clusters mentioned by the early Spanish navigators, Dixon and his colleague were not in any degree disappointed, though they sailed over the very spot indicated by their predecessors without perceiving any trace of land. This inaccuracy has led to certain remarks, and even confirmed some conclusions, touching the loose method of reckoning longitude followed by the seamen of the sixteenth century, to which we shall invite the attention of the reader when we come to analyze the voyage of La Perouse.

About the middle of November, the ships reached a safe harbour in Oahu, finding that they could not obtain a good anchorage at the larger island of Owhyhee or Hawaii. Seven years had elapsed since the murder of Captain Cook, but the principles and usages of the inhabitants were not in any measure changed. Nor was their dexterity in thieving at all diminished; for, though they parted with their hogs, fowls, plantains, and bread-fruit at a moderate price, they failed not to seek ample compensation by abstracting, even in the presence of

* Portlock's Voyage round the World, p. 130-150. It is admitted that the trade in furs had hitherto been a failure, and that the crews of both ships were greatly disappointed; a result which may be ascribed to their late arrival in the country, and the prior visit of the Russians.

their visiters, every thing that admitted of concealment or easy removal. The taboo, or sacred prohibition, was imposed, for no other reason, perhaps, than to enhance the value of their produce, for which the appearance of two English ships secured an extensive demand. A seasonable application to the cupidity of the king and chief priest procured the removal of this restraint, upon which an active trade commenced; but soon afterwards, a woman being convicted of eating pork on board the King George, it was again imposed with greater strictness, and enforced until her crime was expiated by the sacrifice of her life in the presence of the offended idol. It is hence manifest that the same sanguinary superstition, which so much appalled the first Europeans who visited these fine islands, still retained its full influence over the minds of the people; and that the chiefs, whose power had no firm basis in the principles of abstract justice or of public good, were as yet permitted to enforce the maxims of an irresponsible government by an appeal to terror founded on the credulity of their dependants.

Roused by the love of gain, the original motives of the expedition, the Englishmen once more put to sea; and on the 24th April 1787 descried the American coast near Montague Island, at the entrance to Prince William's Sound. Next day a number of the natives surrounded the ships in their canoes, and upon seeing some dogs on board who barked at them, they called out "Towzer, Towzer, here, here!" whistling at the same time after the manner of our own country. The inference drawn from this circumstance was at once natural and consolatory, namely, that a vessel from Great Britain must either be in the sound at present or had been there very lately. Dixon accordingly, in one of the long boats, proceeded into the creek, where he found the Nootka from Bengal, commanded by Captain Meares, who had wintered in the inlet, and who was indeed still fast in the ice. The scurvy had made dreadful havoc among his men, several of whom had fallen

victims to it; and the remainder at one time were so enfeebled, that he himself was the only person able to walk the deck.

On the 15th May, according to a previous arrangement, the two English ships parted company, and Captain Dixon steered towards King George's Sound, in the hope of collecting a large quantity of furs. Proceeding on an easterly course, he entered a bay, to which, supposing himself the first discoverer, he gave the name of Port Mulgrave. The extent of the recess could not be ascertained on account of the incessant fogs; but, at the apparent distance of ten miles, high mountains were observed in a north-western direction, entirely covered with snow. The number of inhabitants dwelling on the shores of this sound appeared not to exceed seventy, including women and children. They were in general about the middle size, their limbs straight and well-shaped; but, like the other natives along the coast, so much addicted to the painting of their faces with a variety of colours, that it was not easy to discover their real complexion. A woman was induced by a trifling present to wash her face, and the alteration it made in her appearance was absolutely surprising. Her countenance had all the cheerful glow of an English milkmaid; the healthy red which flushed her cheek was even beautifully contrasted with the whiteness of her neck; her eyes were black and sparkling; her eyebrows the same colour, and finely arched; her forehead so remarkably clear that the translucent veins were seen meandering in their minutest branches. But this symmetry of features, it is added, is destroyed by a custom extremely singular, of which the voyagers had never seen any example, and were even ignorant that any former traveller had mentioned it. The author here alludes to the practice which prevails at Nootka Sound of making an aperture in the thick part of the under lip, parallel to the mouth, in which a piece of wood is constantly worn. This ornament is not, however, used indiscriminately, but only by the women, and

especially by such as arrogate to themselves a station superior to the other females of the tribe.*

The account here given corresponds with that supplied by Maurelle, when second captain of the Spanish frigate Favorita. After mentioning that the women evince in their dress the modesty and decorum of their manners, he observes that their countenances are pleasing, their complexion tolerably clear, their cheeks rosy, and their hair, which they wear braided, of great length. Their principal garment is a long robe of smooth fur, girded about the loins, and not unlike that of monks, covering them from the neck to the feet, and with sleeves reaching down to the wrists; and over this they wear several skins of otters or other animals, to protect them from the cold. Were they better dressed, he continues, "many might dispute the prize of beauty with the handsomest of our women in Spain; but not content with their native charms, they have recourse to art, which, far from embellishing, serves only to disfigure them." He states also, that it is only the married women who have the large opening in the lower lip, filled up with the oval-shaped piece of wood; while the young ones use only a copper needle, which crosses the lip where the ornament is afterwards to be placed.†

When the crew of the Queen Charlotte entered the harbour, their attention was attracted by the sight of a number of white rails, on a piece of level ground, which, though at the distance of a mile and a half, appeared constructed with such a degree of order and regularity as to suggest the notion that they must have been erected by a civilized people. Upon a minuter examination, it was found to be a "kind of burying-place where dead bodies are not deposited in the earth;" and the manner in which the funeral-rites are performed is

* Dixon's Voyage to the North-west Coast of America, p. 172.

† "Extract from the Account of a Voyage made in 1779, by Don Francisco Antonio Maurelle, ensign of a frigate in the service of the King of Spain, to explore the Western Coast of North America." This "extract" is inserted in the first volume of the English translation of the Voyage round the World by La Perouse, p. 242.

worthy of being described. The relations separate the head from the body of the deceased, and, wrapping them both in furs, put the former into a square box, the latter into a species of oblong chest. At each end of this case, a pole about ten feet long is driven into the earth in a slanting position, so that the points meet together, and are firmly fastened with a rope prepared for the purpose. About two feet from the top of the arch so formed, a small piece of timber is laid across, and neatly fitted to either pole; and on this the box containing the head is placed, strongly secured with a thick cord. The box itself is frequently decorated with two or three rows of small shells, and sometimes teeth, which are indented in the wood with much neatness and ingenuity; the whole being ornamented with a great variety of colours, suited perhaps to the age or character of the defunct. The poles are uniformly painted white; and hence the appearance which struck the eyes of our countrymen at a distance.

In this respect, as well as in some others having an immediate reference to the habits, enjoyments, and opinions of the natives of King George's Sound, it is not difficult to trace a resemblance to the usages of the several tribes who are scattered over the islands of the Southern Pacific. For example, we find that the savages of the north dress their victuals by putting heated stones into a kind of wicker-basket among pieces of fish, seal, and porpoise, and covering it up very closely. This method they always prefer to boiling, even when furnished with pans, and instructed in the use of them. They are also particularly fond of chewing a plant possessing a narcotic quality; and, not content with the leaf in its simple state, they usually add a little lime, and frequently the inner rind of the pine-tree, together with a resinous substance extracted from it.*

* The captain was particularly struck by the expertness of the natives in fishing; acknowledging that "we were fairly beat at our own weapons, and our boat was never sent on this business afterwards."—P. 174.

About the middle of June, after proceeding some days in a south-easterly course, Captain Dixon added to our knowledge of the western coast of America by entering a sound which he named in honour of the Duke of Norfolk. It is almost certain that two ships, under the flag of Spain, had already visited this inlet; but as no authentic record is preserved whereby the precise time and extent of their discovery could be fixed, the Englishman claimed the merit of first making known to the curiosity of Europeans the nature of the shore and the character of the inhabitants.

The manners of the people, we are assured, approach nearer to those in Cook's River and Prince William's Sound, than to the more unsophisticated dwellers at Port Mulgrave. Their traffic seems to be conducted with great order and regularity: they constantly appeared alongside the Queen Charlotte at daybreak, and never failed to spend more than half an hour in singing before the trade commenced. The chief, on all occasions, assumed the management of the whole property belonging to his subjects, and took infinite pains to dispose of their furs advantageously. Should a different tribe arrive while he is trading, they wait with patience till he has concluded the negotiation; and if in their opinion he has made a good bargain, they frequently employ him to sell their commodities.

One day the captain was endeavouring to get the meaning of some words in their language from a chief, when, on pointing to the sun, the latter took great pains to make his visiter understand that, notwithstanding the apparent superiority of the strangers in the knowledge of arts and possession of useful articles, their origin was the same; that all mankind came from above; and that the solar orb at once animated and supported every creature in the universe. Besides their ordinary dress, the natives have a peculiar kind of cloaks made purposely to defend them from the intense inclemency of the weather, composed, it was imagined, of reeds sewed very closely together. A gentleman on board, who had

accompanied Captain Cook in his last voyage, remarked that they were exactly the same with those worn by the inhabitants of New Zealand.

Proceeding still towards the south, with the ultimate intention of casting anchor in King George's Sound, the pilot discovered a bay which, from its favourable situation, seemed to afford some prospect of success in trading with the natives. A convenient harbour, completely land-locked, and having a depth of water extending to upwards of twenty fathoms, was named Port Banks, as a token of respect to the distinguished naturalist, who at that period gave his countenance to every attempt made for the extension of geographical knowledge. It is situated in long. 136° W., and lat. 56° 35′ N. The prospect, though rather confined, had something in it more pleasing and romantic than any yet seen on the coast. The land on either side, no doubt, rises to an elevation sufficiently great to convey the most distinct idea of winter even on the 24th of June; but, though the mountains at that season were covered with snow, the numerous pines which every where project their bushy tops on the declivities, contribute greatly to divest the scene of that dreary aspect which belongs to the barren hills on the northern side of Cook's River.

We have now to mention the principal discovery made during this voyage, that, namely, of the group called the Queen Charlotte Islands. It was some time doubtful whether the broken coast towards the east was not part of the continent; but Captain Dixon at length decided this question by sailing between the group and the mainland, through a strait which is distinguished by his name. The inhabitants are evidently a more ferocious class of savages than any who occupy the higher latitudes. An aged chief, whom the seamen had formerly met, exhibited both in his person and manners a specimen of human nature in its most repulsive aspect. His stature was above the middle size; his body spare and thin; and though at first he appeared emaciated, his step was bold and firm, and his limbs

strong and muscular. His eyes, which were large and goggling, seemed ready to start out of their sockets; his forehead was deeply wrinkled, not merely by age, but from a continual frown; all which, joined to a long visage, hollow cheeks, and a natural ferocity of expression, formed a countenance that could not be contemplated without some degree of emotion. Nor did he attempt to conceal that the spirit which animated him corresponded to his outward appearance. Alluding to the numerous wars in which he had taken a part, he boasted of the numbers he had slain, and of the enemies' skulls he still had in his possession. His descriptions of bloody triumphs, and the horrible scenes which followed, seemed even to justify the conclusion, that the victors feasted on the bodies of those who had fallen under their blows.

The Queen Charlotte Islands are situated in lat. 51° 24′ N., and long. 133° 30′ W. The land, which in some places is considerably elevated but not mountainous, is entirely covered with pines, affording a pleasing contrast to the snowy heights which occupy the interior. In harmony with this description, the air was temperate and soothing, the thermometer usually indicating about fifty-four degrees of Fahrenheit. According to an estimate made by the officers on board, the number of inhabitants must have amounted to about seventeen hundred. They add that "the great plenty of furs we met with here, sufficiently proves that these people have had no intercourse whatever with any civilized nation; and we may therefore justly claim the honour of adding these islands to the geography of this part of the coast."

A deep impression of fraud, cunning, and cruelty, was left on the mind of the simple civilian on whom the duty was imposed of recording the incidents of the voyage. In addition to their savage temper and brutal disposition, he remarked a kind of ferocity even in their manner of singing. It was in vain that he endeavoured to gain some knowledge of their language;

for every attempt he made either excited a sarcastic laugh or was treated with silent contempt. Hence he never learned so much as their numerals, or the names of the simplest objects. The captain, meanwhile, whose ambition seems not to have at any time been impeded in its flight by any weighty regard to literature, was much gratified by the successful trade he carried on with the natives; for these last, being ignorant of the value which their skins and furs bore in the foreign market, parted with them for the veriest trifles.*

Upon leaving the Queen Charlotte group, Dixon directed his course for the Sandwich Islands, where, having left a letter for the commander of the King George, he proceeded to China. Both ships met near Macao, where the masters found a profitable demand for their cargoes; and, after realizing the amount of their sales, they agreed to make a separate passage homeward by the Cape of Good Hope, thereby completing a voyage round the world.

Considering that this adventure was entirely commercial in its motives and object, we are ready to acknowledge that the addition made by it to our knowledge of the American coast is greater than could have been anticipated. Before Captain Cook's last visit to the Pacific Ocean, this part of the new continent was very little known. In 1741, Behring, the celebrated Russian navigator, discovered land in lat. 58° 28′ N., and anchored about sixty miles nearer the pole; but the account which was published of his voyage is at once imperfect and inaccurate. The Spaniards, too, were probably well acquainted with the shore a little southward of King George's Sound and in the vicinity of Cape Edgecombe, at both of which places they are said to have touched in the year 1775. Beyond this lati-

* Dixon, p. 228. "The numbers of sea-otter skins purchased by us at Queen Charlotte's Islands was no less than 1821, many of them very fine. Thus, in one fortunate month has our success been much greater than that probably of both vessels during the rest of the voyage!"

tude, however, their acquaintance with the country did not extend; and it is well known that the bays surveyed with the greatest attention by the renowned English seaman were Prince William's Sound and the one which still bears his own name. In all other parts his examination was slight and unsatisfactory, more especially between the parallels of 42° and 53°. His principal cares were lavished on Behring's Straits, both sides of which he inspected with much minuteness, in order to decide the important geographical question whether a passage could be accomplished between the South Sea and Atlantic within the arctic circle. So vague, indeed, was the information possessed by seafaring men, even after Dixon's voyage was completed, that, while claiming credit for what he himself had achieved, he admits, in regard to the American coast, "so imperfectly do we still know it, that it is in some measure to be doubted whether we have yet seen the mainland. Certain it is that the coast abounds with islands; but whether any land we have been near is really the continent, remains to be determined by future navigators."*

From the descriptions already given, it must be manifest that this vast region has the appearance of one continued forest, being covered with pines of various species, alder, birch, hazel, and a mass of brushwood. The earth which covers the lower portion of the mountains is a kind of compost, consisting of rotten moss and decayed trees; which, being frequently washed down into the valleys, and there incorporating with a light sand, forms a soil where most of our garden productions might be cultivated with success. Even at present, in the low grounds which are exposed to the sun and sheltered from the wind, are found currants, gooseberries, and raspberries, as well as a variety of flowering shrubs.

The appearance of the country encourages the hope that metals and other minerals will be found in abundance. Coal was detected on the bank of Cook's River; and the paint used by the natives for daubing their

* *Dixon, pp.* 236, 237.

faces appears to consist of black lead and red ochre. Both at Norfolk Sound and Queen Charlotte's Islands large circular wreaths of copper were seen, which, having no appearance of foreign manufacture, must have been twisted into that shape by the people themselves, to wear as an ornament about the neck.

It is estimated that the number of inhabitants along the whole coast known sixty years ago to Europeans, did not exceed ten thousand. Judging by the extent of land they possess, and the ample means of subsistence within their reach, a stranger would conclude that the population must be larger. In their simple state an exemption is enjoyed from those diseases which luxury and intemperance have introduced among more civilized nations. But, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten, that neighbouring tribes of savages are generally at war with each other; and that their contentions, both from the nature of their weapons and their vindictive disposition, must be attended with the most fatal consequences. Besides, there is reason to believe that many are lost at sea when fishing, as they go out to a very considerable distance; and should bad weather come upon them, it is almost impossible they should escape. Their habits are totally at variance with every notion of comfort or cleanliness; nay, it is maintained that "a love of dirt and filth is universally predominant over all the coast."*

In their dress there is not much variety: but in ornaments, if they may be so called, there is a considerable difference of taste. For example, the aperture, or second mouth a little above the chin, seems confined to the men of Cook's River and Prince William's Sound; whilst the wooden stretcher in the under lip is worn by

* Dixon, p. 238. Captain Portlock (p. 272) says that "to see their manner of living in summer, one would think it a miracle that any of them escaped with their lives. I found men, women, and children all huddled together in a close house near a large fire, and entirely surrounded with stinking fish; and in several places around the house were beds of maggots, a foot deep and ten or twelve feet in circumference."

the women only in that part of the coast which extends from Port Mulgrave to Queen Charlotte's Islands.

There are at least two or three different languages spoken on the coast, or rather, perhaps, so many dialects of one mother-tongue. When written, they all appear uncouth and difficult to pronounce; and yet, though they abound in consonants, the sounds when uttered by a native are not disagreeable, proceeding from the lips and teeth rather than from the throat. It is superfluous to observe that they have no literature, and, so far as there were any means of judging, no form of divine worship. Maurelle remarks, that he could not perceive any trace of religion among them, except that they sometimes made an inclination towards the sun; but that it was an act of devotional reverence, it was impossible for him to determine. Whether or not they make use of any species of hieroglyph to perpetuate the memory of events, is a point that remained doubtful, notwithstanding the inquiries of our people. The numerous drawings of birds and fishes which every where met their eyes, as well as the graven images of animals, and even of men, led them to conjecture that the arts were called in to aid the recollection of the passing age, or to hand down to posterity a knowledge of occurrences important to the tribe in days which had gone by. Not a few of these carvings were executed with a degree of correctness and ingenuity which could not but appear extraordinary among a class of men so remote from civilized life. It is true that this art is not in its infancy on the wild shores of North America: a fondness for sculpture and design was remarked by Captain Cook; iron implements were in use when he first visited the natives of the western coast; and their knives are so thin and flexible that they can be bent into a variety of forms, which suit their purposes nearly as well as if they had recourse to the tool-chest of a European carpenter. The only instruments observed in their hands, not made of iron, were formed of jasper, the same as those used by the rude artists of New Zealand. But, as

we shall have occasion to accompany subsequent travellers to the same part of the world, we abstain from entering into further details, which may be brought forward more seasonably hereafter.

Portlock, who, as already noticed, sailed under the command of Cook in his last voyage, and was present when that distinguished navigator was murdered at Owhyhee, recognised, while in that island on his return homewards in October 1787, a person who stood on the shore when the tragedy took place. He asked whether the great captain was killed with a pahoa: the other replied that it was a different weapon, the point of which entered at the shoulders and came out at the breast. He hunted about the cabin till he found a bayonet, and asserted that the Orono was slain with an instrument of that kind. This statement is the more probable, because it was known that the natives had procured some of these weapons, either by stealth or by trading with the crews. The islander added that a great number of the inhabitants were wounded by the repeated discharges of musketry, the majority of whom died; and he did not conceal that the reason why the present sovereign and other chiefs declined to come on board the King George, was the apprehension that the death of a leader so much venerated might be visited on their heads, even though they had no immediate share in its perpetration.*

The circumnavigator who comes next in order is the unfortunate La Perouse, whose fate, a long time doubtful, excited much anxiety throughout Europe; a feeling which, when hope could be no longer entertained, was succeeded by the profoundest grief. Various motives have been assigned for the interest manifested by the French government in the voyage of discovery committed to his care, some of which do little honour to those writers in whose minds they originated. It has been asserted, for example, that, at the time when the expedition departed to make new acquisitions for philosophy

* Portlock, p. 309.

and commerce, one of the king's ministers presented to the royal council a memorial on the great advantages which might be expected to accrue from it. He assured his majesty that it would divert his subjects from the dangerous Anglomania—the passion for liberty, so destructive of peace and good order, which prevailed among them; that it would amuse them with new ideas, and give them food for their idle hours, the variety of which would gratify the frivolous turn of their minds. "They had better," said he, "be employed in admiring the ridiculous tricks of a few Chinese apes, than in following the fashion of the day, which leads them to admire the horses and philosophers of England."*

The views of the public were very different from those now stated; for, imagining that the death of Cook would interrupt the progress of discovery among the mariners of Great Britain, it seemed proper that France, availing herself of the leisure arising from the peace she had just concluded, and having due regard to the rank she now held among maritime powers, should fit out some ships for the advancement of science, and thereby contribute her share towards our completer knowledge of that globe which has been so long the habitation of man. But the sovereign did not so far yield to his ardour for the progress of philosophy as to overlook the great interests of trade, and even of colonization. He pointed out, in a formal body of private instructions, those objects of politics and commerce to which he wished the attention of the captain to be particularly directed at the different places where he might happen to stop, in order that the expedition, undertaken at the national expense, might produce results honourable to the crown and beneficial to his subjects. For instance, he was desired, when anchoring at Madeira and St Jago, to neglect no means of procuring information respecting the force kept there by the Portuguese, and the trade carried on with the English and other nations. He was

* Historical and Picturesque Tour on the Rhine, by George Foster, vol. i. p. 311.

commanded also to ascertain whether the British had entirely quitted the island of Trinidad; whether any natives of Portugal had settled there; and what might be the establishment they have formed since its evacuation. If he should find Isle Grande, he was instructed to examine whether it affords any safe and commodious harbour; what conveniences it offers for a settlement, supposing the whale-fishery were to induce French merchant-ships to visit the southern part of the Atlantic; and whether there be any place, capable of being fortified with advantage and maintained by a small force, suitable for a colony so remote from the protection of the mother-country.

It was not expected that the islands of the great equatorial ocean could furnish many observations under the interesting heads of commerce and political relations. When in that part of the world, therefore, his instructions required no more than that he should study their climate and productions, the manners and customs of the natives, their religion, government, mode of making war, arms, and vessels; the distinguishing character of each tribe, what they have in common with other savage nations, and especially what is peculiar to each. In such of the islands as have already been visited by Europeans, he was required to learn whether the inhabitants have been able to distinguish the different countries of the navigators, and what opinion they have formed of each in particular; to examine into the use they have made of the various commodities, metals, tools, stuffs, and other things, with which they have been furnished from time to time; to obtain information whether the cattle, fowls, and other animals left on some of the islands by Captain Cook have bred; what grain and pulse from Europe have succeeded best; what methods have been employed in cultivating them; and what use has been made of their produce.

Upon La Perouse it was particularly enjoined that in his visit to New Caledonia, Queen Charlotte's Islands, the land of the Arsacides, and Louisiada, he should

examine carefully the productions of those countries, which, lying under the torrid zone and the same latitudes as Peru, might be expected to open a new field for commercial speculation; and, without trusting to the reports of the Spanish navigators relative to the fertility of some of the islands which they discovered in the Pacific, to ascertain, if possible, whether those seen by Bougainville in 1768, and by Surville the year following, are not the same which were brought to light by Mendana in 1567, and since known by the name of the Solomons. New Zealand having been minutely described by the English, he was not desired to make any researches there. But during his stay in Queen Charlotte's Sound, says the card of instructions put into his hand, "he will endeavour to gain intelligence whether the English have formed, or entertain the project of forming, any settlement in these islands; and if he should hear that they have actually formed a settlement, he will repair thither, in order to learn all particulars respecting its object, strength, and condition.*

In regard to the north-western shores of America, and the establishments formed there by the Spaniards, the navigator was commanded, in the name of his royal master, to inform himself touching their present state, and to find out whether those at San Diego and Monterey, were the only settlements they had in that part of the world; to inquire also in what latitude furs began to be procured; what quantity can be furnished; what commodities are best adapted to the trade; and what conveniences might be found for making a settlement on the coast. With respect to the Kurile Isles and Seso, he was told to survey them with prudence and circumspection, both as to the navigation of a sea

* A Voyage round the World, performed in the years 1785, 1786, 1787, and 1788, by the Boussole and Astrolabe, under the command of J. F. G. de la Perouse, &c. Two volumes 4to, London, 1799. The French edition of this narrative, on which we have chiefly relied, is that published at Paris, in the year 1834, by Armand Aubrée, and superintended by M. Albert Montémont.

unknown to Europeans, and also as to the intercourse he might have with the natives, whose character and manners must, it was supposed, have some resemblance to those of the Japanese, by whom part of them are said to have been subjected. He was likewise instructed to visit the north-eastern provinces of Japan; to land at one of its harbours to satisfy himself whether the government oppose insuperable obstacles to a commercial intercourse with Europeans. He was reminded that the examination of Corea and Chinese Tartary must be conducted with great vigilance and caution, there being many Japanese pirates in the sea which divides these countries; and, because the government of Pe-king is very jealous, he was not to hoist his colours when on the coast, nor in any way to make himself known to the local authorities.

The royal directions are summed up by imposing upon the commodore as a primary duty, that, in all the islands and harbours of the continent, occupied or frequented by Europeans, at which he should happen to touch, he shall make every inquiry with the view of ascertaining, with some minuteness, the nature and extent of the trade of every nation; the naval and military force which they maintain there; the ties of interest or friendship which subsist between them and the chiefs of the country where they have settlements; and, in general, every thing which concerns politics or commerce.

From the details now produced, it must be manifest that the object of the voyage conducted by La Perouse was not exclusively scientific; though, upon reference to the same authorities, it will be found that on no former occasion were more ample means provided for the extension of knowledge in all the branches to which human curiosity is attracted, whether physical, moral, or antiquarian. The spirit of vain-glory or of an envious ambition was not allowed to mingle with the wish to add new provinces to the empire of man. The patrons of the French enterprise frankly admitted that the English navigators had merited the just admiration of the

world; but they were convinced at the same time, that, in so vast a field, there will be for ages to come new triumphs to reward the intrepidity of seamen, unknown coasts to be explored, plants, trees, fishes, and birds to be described, minerals and volcanoes to be examined, nations to be studied, and perhaps to be rendered happier, since the introduction of one fruit or one species of tame animal may prove to the inhabitants of a remote land a source of inestimable benefit.

The Boussole and Astrolabe sailed from Brest on the first day of August 1785, and doubled Cape Horn about the end of January following, an achievement which was attended with fewer obstacles than the commandant had apprehended. The supposed difficulties, he thinks, are the effect of an ancient prejudice, soon to be laid aside, and which the account of Anson's voyage has hitherto tended to keep alive among seamen. It is remarkable that La Perouse, either owing to very defective maps or unskilful seamanship, failed to reach several islands and points of the coast marked by some of his predecessors in the South Atlantic; and not finding them, he yielded too readily to the impression that they had no existence. We allude, in particular, to his hasty conclusions relative to Ascension and the Isle Grande of La Roche.*

On the 24th February, he arrived in the bay where the city of Conception once stood, pleasantly situated on

* It is but just to this acute though unfortunate seaman to observe, that he corrected an error of Admiral Drake in regard to a supposed island which long bore the name of this discoverer. The Englishman relates that, after leaving the Strait of Magellan, he was assailed in the great Western Ocean by strong gales of wind which continued to blow nearly a month, when at length he descried an island in the latitude of 57° S. Putting in here he saw abundance of birds, and running afterwards to the north the space of twenty leagues, he fell in with other islands inhabited by savages who had canoes. These islands produced wood and antiscorbutic plants. There is now no doubt that one of these islands was Tierra del Fuego, at which he must certainly have touched; and in all probability the other was the island of Diego Ramirez, situated almost in the very latitude assigned to the supposed land of Drake.

the western shore of America, and formerly subject to the government of Chili. By means of a powerful glass he endeavoured to obtain a view of the buildings, but saw no traces of any habitation. In the course of the evening some pilots appeared, who informed him that the town had been destroyed by an earthquake in the year 1751, and that a new one had been built at the distance of three leagues from the sea, on the banks of the river Biobio. It was not till 1763 that the people made choice of the site now mentioned, on which they renewed the bishop's palace, the cathedral, and all the other religious houses. The inhabitants were said to amount to ten thousand; a small number compared to the wide country by which they were surrounded, and the ample means of subsistence thereby afforded, at the expense of little labour. Their territory extended to the Cordilleras on the east, and southwards to the Straits of Magellan. The lands beyond the river, it is true, belonged to the Indians, with the exception of the island of Chiloe and a small district around Valdivia. Nor could these people be properly held as subjects of the King of Spain, with whom they were almost constantly in a state of war; and hence the governor had at his disposal a large body of troops, both regulars and militia. In no part of the world is the soil more productive than in this section of Chili. Corn yields a return of sixty-fold, and the vines are equally productive. The plains, too, were covered with innumerable flocks and herds, which multiplied immensely, though left entirely to themselves, without either watch or feeder. The usual price of a fat ox was about eight dollars, that of a sheep not more than three shillings and ninepence; but there were no purchasers, and on this account the inhabitants were accustomed every year to kill a great number of cattle, the hides and tallow of which were alone preserved.*

* With regard to the city of the Conception, La Perouse observes that "le village de Talcaguana est aujourd'hui le seul etablissement Espagnol de cette baie. On voit encore, dans la direction de

But it is vain that nature lavishes her gifts, if the social institutions are unfavourable to the development of industrious habits; and accordingly, notwithstanding all the advantages now mentioned, the colony did not advance either in wealth or population. The genial influence of the climate was counteracted by that of the government; prohibitory regulations were extended from one end of the province to the other; and hence, though the productions of the soil, if increased to the full extent, would have been sufficient to maintain the half of Europe, though its wool would have supplied all the manufactories of France and England, and its salted meat would have produced a vast revenue, it had no commerce. Four or five vessels, indeed, arrived annually from Lima, with sugar, tobacco, and a few manufactured articles, which the unfortunate inhabitants could only obtain from the second or third hand, and after immense duties had been paid both in the Spanish and American ports. All that they had to give in exchange was wheat, the value of which was so depressed that the agriculturist found no encouragement to cultivate his waste lands, together with tallow, hides, a few planks, and a trifling portion of gold. It is unnecessary to add that, the balance of trade being always against the settlers, their condition received no improvement, and admitted little hope.

One of the evils under which this colony groaned arose from a circumstance which most men would deem highly favourable, namely, that it produces a small quantity of gold. As nearly all the rivers contain grains of this metal, a native, by merely washing the earth, could earn half a dollar a-day; but as provisions were very plentiful, he was not excited to labour by any real

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l'est, les ruines de l'ancienne ville de la Conception, qui ne dureront pas autant que celles de Palmyre, tous les bâtiments du pays n'étant batis qu'en torchis ou en briques cuites au soleil: les couvertures sont en tuiles creuses, comme dans plusieures provinces méridionales de la France."—*Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages*, tome xii. p. 71.

want. Deprived of communication with foreigners, and unacquainted with European luxury and arts, his desire could not be fixed on any object with sufficient intensity to overcome his love of ease. The houses even of the most opulent were, on this account, wretchedly furnished; their gardens were uncultivated; and their whole establishment bore marks of indifference, laziness, and neglect. The same indolence, it was thought, still more than credulity or superstition, has contributed to fill the country with monks and nuns, the former of whom it is said enjoyed a greater degree of liberty than elsewhere; and the disadvantages of having nothing to do, the want of family attachments, a state of celibacy without being separated from the world, seemed to have produced a very unfavourable effect upon their characters. The natives of Conception, generally, did not sustain a high reputation, viewed in reference at least to our standard of morals; and being of a mixed descent, with a large portion of Indian blood, they were considered on all hands in the light of a degenerate race, having no quality to inspire confidence or self-respect.

A much higher estimate was formed of the Indians themselves, who are no longer those ancient Americans who were struck with terror by the arms of the Spaniards. The increase of horses, now dispersed over all the immense deserts of the interior, as well as of oxen and sheep which seem to own no proprietor, have rendered these people real Arabs in the usages of life. Continually mounted, a journey of five hundred miles is to them only a short excursion. They travel accompanied by their flocks, feed on their flesh, their milk, and even their blood; clothing themselves also with their skins, of which they make helmets, cuirasses, and bucklers. Thus, the introduction of two domestic animals into America has had the most striking influence upon the manners of all the tribes who dwell between St Jago and the extremity of Patagonia. They no longer follow any of their ancient customs; they no longer live upon the same fruits nor wear the same garments; and they

have a much more considerable resemblance to the Tartars, or to those nomade freebooters who infest the eastern shores of the Red Sea, than to their own ancestors as they existed two centuries ago. It cannot be surprising, therefore, that such men soon learned to contemn the Spaniards, and at no time yielded more than a nominal subjection.

On the 9th April, La Perouse with part of his followers landed on Easter Island, discovered by Roggewein in the year 1722. It soon appeared that the natives had not in any respect improved since they were visited by Captain Cook, and that the various gifts conferred on them by this navigator had not been turned to any advantage. The Frenchmen had hardly touched the shore when their hats were taken from their heads, and their handkerchiefs stolen from their pockets. The whole multitude appeared to be accomplices in these thefts, for upon the commission of each individual act they all fled like a flock of birds when suddenly alarmed. Some among them indeed seemed to exercise a small degree of authority over the others; but it was perceived that their pre-eminence consisted in nothing beyond their greater dexterity in stealing, and their ingenuity in hiding the pillage already achieved. Though they pretended to shield their guests, and actually ran after those who had abstracted their goods, it was very easy to perceive that they had not the most distant intention of overtaking the delinquents.

The impression made on the minds of the French voyagers by the busts in Easter Island, did not correspond to that received by the companions of Cook. Mr Forster thought them the work of a people much more advanced in civilisation than the present natives; an opinion which the philosophers of the Boussole and Astrolabe consider to be ill founded. The largest of them was not found by actual measurement to be more than fourteen feet six inches in height, seven feet and a half broad at the shoulders, and about five feet square at the base. Upon the whole, they appeared to present no

difficulty in the execution which might not be overcome by the ingenuity of the men now existing. All the monuments, indeed, had an air of antiquity; but it is remarked that the actual form of government has rendered the condition of the inhabitants so equal, that there is no chief among them of sufficient consideration to merit a statue with the view of preserving his memory. Instead, therefore, of colossal structures, they have substituted small pyramidal heaps of stones, the summit of which is whitewashed with lime. To explain the use of these last, one of the islanders extended himself on the ground; and afterwards, by raising his hands towards the sky, appeared desirous of expressing to the foreigners his belief in another life. But no distinct traces of religion could be observed, if certain tokens of reverence for these sepulchral stones did not intimate a feeling of respect or fear towards the dead, the basis of most superstitions in the savage state.

Perhaps La Perouse was too hasty when he concluded that the form of society is democratical; imagining that a man must find little temptation to become king of a people who live on yams, and who, as they cannot make war for want of neighbours, have no need of a leader. It is admitted, notwithstanding these tokens of equality, that there is a chief in each district, who looks more particularly after the crops, and superintends the sale or distribution of the produce. Captain Cook regarded this person as the proprietor of the whole; but the Frenchman remarks, that if the celebrated navigator found any difficulty in procuring a sufficient quantity of potatoes and other roots, it must be attributed less to the want of these vegetables than to the necessity of obtaining an almost general consent for selling them.*

* Monsieur de Langle, during the time the expedition remained in Cook's Bay, made an excursion into the interior parts of the island, an account of which is published in the narrative of La Perouse. In regard to the statues or monuments, he remarks, that the largest of those which he measured was sixteen feet high, including the capital. Upon different stones composing the plat-

It is impossible to conceive a lower degree of demoralization than that into which the occupants of Easter Island have fallen. They are not only as much addicted to theft as the other natives of the South Sea Islands, but the manner in which they commit the crime betrays their consciousness that it is an act of injustice and deserving of punishment. The most daring swindlers of Europe are less hypocritical than these barbarians. All their caresses are false: their countenances do not express a single sentiment of truth; and the individual most to be suspected is he who has just received a present, or who appears to be most in earnest in offering his service. De Langle, the commander of the Astrolabe, made a gift of two goats to a kind of chief, who received them with one hand, and with the other stole the handkerchief of his benefactor.

The care which they took to measure the French ships showed that they did not contemplate the arts of Europe with stupidity. They examined the cables, the anchors, the compass, and the steering-wheel; and in the evening, as if to correct their impressions, they returned to take the measures over again. But the proofs which they gave that they possessed talent and reflection rendered them still more unworthy of esteem. Their visiters supplied them with one subject of meditation which could not fail to recur to their minds,—that they did not use their overwhelming power against the transgressors, however much provoked by insolence and fraud—a forbearance which they seemed perfectly to understand, for the mere motion of a musket levelled in sport put them to flight in the greatest trepidation.

In proceeding towards the north, La Perouse followed a course nearly parallel to that which Cook pursued in 1777 when he sailed from the Society Isles to the north-western coast of America, though more than

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forms he observed the rude outlines of skeletons, and certain openings closed with stones, which he imagined might communicate with caves containing the dead.

two thousand miles farther east. His daily calculation of longitude was so much disturbed by the action of the currents which sweep in all directions throughout the North Pacific, that he was led to suspect the accuracy of the position assigned to certain groups by the early navigators. It is undoubtedly from the cause now mentioned that the errors which disfigure the Spanish charts have arisen; and it is remarkable that most of the islands discovered by Quiros, Mendana, and other navigators of the same nation, have been rediscovered in modern times, owing to their being placed too near the coast of America. Hence was the French commodore led to doubt the existence of a cluster called by the Spaniards La Mesa, Los Majos, and La Disgraciada; for, finding that they are laid down in one of their maps in the precise latitude of the Sandwich Islands, but nearly seventeen degrees more to the eastward, he concluded they must be the same, and that the difference of longitude ought to be ascribed to the imperfect manner in which the reckoning was kept in those days, and more especially to the action of the currents, the power of which was quite unknown.

It is worthy of notice that in the same year Captain Dixon, from the same process of reasoning, arrived at a similar result; and also subsequently fortified his conclusion by a minute research in that part of the ocean where the Spanish navigator had placed the supposed islands. The discovery of the Sandwich group by Cook is therefore a mistake; for they had been visited by Mendana in 1567, and named by him, as already stated, La Mesa—understood to be Owhyhee—and Los Majos. It is proper to add, for the information of the less experienced reader, that the error now mentioned has been perpetuated by the map prefixed to the volume of plates which usually accompanies the voyages of the great English seaman. This chart was framed after the final return of the ships from the Pacific by Lieutenant Roberts, who placed too much confidence on a manuscript draft, found on board a Spanish ship captured by

Admiral Anson. The same corrections must be applied to other islands of which the discovery is related in the maritime annals of the sixteenth century, more especially Santa Maria la Gloria, Rosa Partida, and La Neublada.*

If the arts and enjoyments of civilized life could be introduced among rude tribes without sowing in their families the seeds of dissolution, it would be pleasant to mark the progress of discovery, by land and by water, on all parts of the earth. But as there is no example of such union between the European and the barbarian as would justify the hope that the Sandwich islander will be allowed to retain the inheritance of his fathers, and at the same time receive the gifts of knowledge and refinement, we share in the sentiments of La Perouse as to the ambiguous nature of the benefit which has been usually

* Dixon says, "from the 11th to the 14th we lay to every night, and when we made sail in the morning, spread at the distance of eight or ten miles, standing westerly; it being probable that though the Spaniards might have been pretty correct in the latitude of these islands, yet they might easily be mistaken several degrees in their longitude. But our latitude on the 15th at noon being 20° 9′ north and 140° 1′ west longitude, which is considerably to the westward of any island laid down by the Spaniards, we concluded, and with reason, that there must be a gross mistake in the chart." —P. 49.

La Perouse deems it necessary to apologize for having detected the error of the old charts, as he might thereby appear to detract from the merit of his English predecessor. "Those who know my character," says he, "will not suspect that in this research I could be guided by any wish to rob Captain Cook of the honour of this discovery. Full of respect and admiration for the memory of this great man, he will ever be considered by me as the first of navigators,—as the individual who has determined the exact situation of these islands, explored their coasts, ascertained the manners, usages, and religion of the inhabitants, and who has paid with his life for all the information we at present possess respecting them."—Vol. i. p. 338, English Translation.

It is maintained by the editor of the work just quoted, that the Sandwich Islands were discovered by Gaetan in 1542, who, sailing from the coast of Mexico, stood westward into the Pacific nine hundred leagues, where he fell in with a group inhabited by savages almost naked. But the historian, either unintentionally or by design, gives a wrong statement as to the latitude; in other respects his description suits Owhyhee and the adjoining islets.

offered to the natives of the South Sea. When he landed at Maui, he refused to take possession of it in the name of the king; not so much because the English had already planted their standard in the group without any attempt at appropriation, as because he considered the practice as on all occasions unjust and even ridiculous. Persons who are capable of thinking must doubtless lament to see that men, for no better reason than because they have firearms and bayonets, should make no estimation of sixty thousand of their fellow-creatures, and consider as an object of conquest a land fertilized by the painful exertions of its inhabitants, and for many years the tomb of their ancestors. He claims for modern navigators such a purity of motive as to declare, in their name, that they have no other object in describing the manners of remote nations than that of completing the history of man; and that the knowledge they endeavour to diffuse has for its sole aim to render the people they visit more happy, and to augment the means of their subsistence.

On the first of June 1786, the Boussole and her companion left the Sandwich group with their prows turned towards the coast of America. The fishes which had followed them from the vicinity of Easter Island to their anchoring-place at Maui, only now disappeared. It is a fact unquestionably worthy of attention, that the same shoal had accompanied the frigates more than four thousand miles. Several bonetas, wounded by the harpoons of the seamen, carried on their backs a mark which it was impossible to mistake, and thus, day after day, they recognised the same individual they had seen the evening before. But for the interruption occasioned by the short stay among the islands, it is probable that they would have continued the pursuit three hundred leagues farther, and till they had arrived at a temperature too cold for them to bear.*

* La Perouse does not enter into details respecting the Sandwich Islands, for the reasons stated in these words: "Le lecteur ne doit pas s'attendre à trouver ici des détails sur un peuple que les re-

Steering a northerly course, the expedition soon found themselves involved in mist and dampness, accompanied by most of the inconveniences which such a change of climate occasions to the mariners. In these circumstances the commander bespeaks the sympathy of those who may peruse with pleasure the events of his voyage, trusting that they will not think with indifference of those who have undergone the fatigue; and who, at the verge of the earth, incessantly struggling amidst fogs and storms, have explored an unknown coast, the theatre of all the geographical fictions too readily embraced by modern geographers.

The fictions to which an allusion is here made are the voyage of Maldonado, supposed to have taken place in 1588, and that of Fuentes or De Fonte, referred to the year 1640. There are, besides these, certain enterprises of the Chinese and of the merchants of Japan, who are said to have reached the American shore; but the dates are so vague, and the facts related so little worthy of credit, that no reliance can be placed on the narratives in which they are contained. Maldonado is said to have discovered a north-west passage from the Atlantic into the Pacific, by entering a strait in Hudson's Bay, which afforded him a channel into the latter ocean. The opening in question, which has since been repeatedly examined with the greatest care, now bears the name of Repulse Bay, and is well known to supply no communication with the South Sea. Fuentes, on the other hand, is described as having made his way from the opposite coast in an eastern direction towards Labrador, and to have accomplished a passage across the American continent from the vicinity of Prince William's Sound to the bay already mentioned.*

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lations Anglaises nous ont si bien fait connaître: ces navigateurs ont passé dans ces iles quatre mois, et nous n'y sommes restés que plusieurs heures; ils avaient de plus l'avantage d'entendre la langue du pays: nous devons donc nous borner à raconter notre propre histoire."—*Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages*, tome xii. p. 138.

* The works in which allusion is made to the voyages mentioned

In reference to these triumphs of navigation at so early a period, La Perouse expresses his opinion very boldly, that neither the pretended channel of St Lazarus nor the Spanish admiral Fuentes ever had an existence. Nay, he maintains that a voyage into the interior of America, through lakes and rivers, and performed in the course of one season, is so absurd, that, but for the spirit of system, which is injurious to all the sciences, geographers of a certain degree of reputation would have rejected a story destitute of all probability, and fabricated in England at a time when the question of a north-west passage was discussed with a vehemence which closed the minds of the several partisans against the approach of truth. The narrative, therefore, of the adventurer Fuentes must, he concludes, be ranked with those pious frauds which sound reason has since rejected with contempt, and which cannot bear the weight of argument.

But it is not improbable that the mistake in this case may have had a similar basis with the imaginary discoveries of De Fuça, who, after passing the mouth of the Columbia river, entered the Straits of Georgia, through which he passed till he came to Queen Charlotte's Sound. Having accomplished this achievement, the Spanish pilot imagined, not unnaturally, considering the imperfect state of geographical knowledge, that he had sailed through the fabulous Strait of Anian; and that, instead of being still in the Pacific, as he actually was, he had conducted his vessel into the spacious waters of the Atlantic. This voyage, however, as well as that of Fuentes, rests on an authority which has not ceased to be questioned by the accurate historian.*

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above are, "Explication de la Carte des nouvelles Découvertes au Nord de la Mer du Sud. Par M. De Lisle, Paris, 1752. Considérations Géographiques et Physiques, &c. Par Philip Basche, Paris, 1753. Nouvelles Cartes des Découvertes de l'Amiral De Fonte, &c. Par De Lisle, Paris, 1753. Observations critiques sur les nouvelles Découvertes de l'Amiral Fuentes. Par Robert de Vaugondy, Paris, 1753.

* See "Historical View of the Progress of Discovery on the

On the 23d June 1786, the French commodore obtained a view of the American coast about the latitude of fifty-nine and a half. A long chain of mountains covered with snow burst upon the sight, among which was the St Elias of Behring, with its summit rising above the clouds. The ridge appeared to be at a very little distance from the ocean, which broke against the cliffs of a table-land apparently three or four hundred yards in height and totally destitute of verdure. Disappointed in his expectation of a suitable anchorage, he bent his course towards the south-east, and on the second July discovered an inlet which appeared to lead to a very commodious bay. A mole of rocks was perceived stretching six or eight hundred yards in length, and leaving a pretty wide opening; "so that nature seemed to have constructed in the remotest part of America a harbour resembling that of Toulon, but on a gigantic scale, adapted to her ampler powers." It extended about twelve miles into the land, having a good bottom with more than ten fathoms of water. To it the discoverer gave the name of "Port des François;" maintaining, with some show of reason, that it had never been entered by any previous navigator. It is situated thirty-three leagues south-west from that of Los Remedios, the extreme boundary of the Spanish voyages; about two hundred and twenty-four from Nootka, and about a hundred from Prince William's Sound. Hence, says the narrator, "it appears to me that if the French government entertained any project of founding a factory on this part of the coast, no nation could have the least pretext for opposing it."

The Indians, who were no strangers to European traffic—a circumstance which might have shaken the confidence of La Perouse as to the originality of his discovery—presented a variety of skins in return for iron, and exercised their ingenuity as usual in committing

more Northern Coasts of America," p. 78. Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. IX.

the most shameless depredations. They creeped like snakes through the thickest wood, almost without stirring a leaf, and stole valuable effects under the eyes of the sentries. They had even the address to enter in the night a tent where two officers slept, and removed their clothes, which they had used the precaution to put under their pillows, without either awaking the gentlemen themselves, or being perceived by the guard who surrounded the place of their repose.

A party visited the head of this bay, which they described as being perhaps the most extraordinary place in the world. To form an idea of it, the reader must conceive a basin of water, unfathomable in the middle, bordered by peaked mountains of great height covered with snow, and without one blade of grass to decorate this vast heap of rocks, condemned by nature to eternal sterility. Nothing disturbs the dark surface of this salt lake which they encompass but the fall of enormous masses of ice, frequently separated from the different heights, and causing a sound that is re-echoed by the distant caverns. The air is so calm, and the silence so profound, that the human voice can be heard at the distance of half-a-league ; and it was in this recess that they hoped to find a channel by which they might penetrate into the interior of America through connected rivers and lakes. But they soon found the passage terminated by two huge glaciers which stopped all farther progress.

An island, conveniently situated near Port des François, had created in the mind of the captain a strong desire for its acquisition, either with the view to future colonization, or merely to secure an asylum from the impertinent curiosity of the natives. In return for this territory, to which no one among the Indians could prefer any individual right, the chief accepted a few yards of red cloth, with some hatchets, adzes, and nails. The bargain being thus concluded, and the equivalent duty paid, La Perouse took possession of the little spot with the usual formalities ; burying at the foot of a rock several bronze medals, which

had been struck before his departure from France, with a bottle containing a memorial recording the claim of his country to this portion of the American coast.

But this harbour was destined to be associated with a melancholy accident,—the loss of two boats employed in sounding, and having on board twenty-one individuals, including officers, all of whom perished. No means could be used to save them, although another pinnace was in sight; and every care which was afterwards employed to discover the bodies on the beach proved unavailing. Nothing remained to the survivors but to raise, as a token of affection and regret, a monument to their unfortunate companions on an island in the middle of the bay, at the foot of which was lodged an account of the painful catastrophe, with the names of the sufferers.*

The picture given of the country cannot recommend it to any settler who has higher views than mere traffic with the natives for furs and fish. The mountains, formed of granite or slate, present acclivities so steep that even the wild goats cannot climb above five or six hundred yards; and the gullies which separate them were, in the middle of July, immense glaciers, the summits of which could not be seen, while their bases were washed by the sea. At the distance of only a cable's length from the shore, no bottom could be found with a line of a hundred and fifty fathoms. For a land so repulsive, long usage has provided inhabitants differing as widely from civilized nations as their soil differs from our cultivated plains. They seem to possess those wild regions only to extirpate every thing which lives and moves upon them; carrying on against the animals a continual war, and despising the few vegetables which spontaneously spring up around their paths. They are not without arts, but in every thing that softens ferocity of manners, they are yet in their infancy;

* Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xii. p. 176. "A l'entrée du port ont peri vingt-un braves marins: qui que vous soyez, mêlez vos larmes aux nôtres."

while the mode in which they live, excluding every kind of subordination, renders them continually exposed to the impulses of vengeance or of fear. Passionate and ever ready to take offence, their poniards are usually unsheathed against one another. In winter, when the chase cannot be had, they are menaced with the dreadful fate of perishing by hunger; while during the remaining portion of the year they wallow in a gross abundance, accompanied with entire idleness. They seem to occupy on the earth the place which the vulture holds in the air, and the tiger in the forest. Nothing is wanting but the use of intoxicating liquors to ensure the utter extirpation of their race; an evil to which the Russians, who may be regarded as the only European people with whom they could have had any intercourse, did not subject them.

La Perouse spent the greater part of August in examining a portion of the coast, of which the general outline had been marked by Captain Cook, though he did not survey it with his usual minuteness. Dixon, who happened to be in the Northern Pacific at the same period with the French navigator, made discoveries and formed conclusions that coincide remarkably with those which appear in the journal of the latter. The descriptions, indeed, differ in nothing but name; and, in some cases, it is difficult to decide to which of the two commanders the priority belongs. For example, on the 7th day of the month, the Boussole made a group of five islets, separated from the continent by a channel of at least four leagues in width, and mentioned neither by Cook nor Maurelle. These little islands were named by the commodore, "Les isles de la Croyere," in memory of the geographer who sailed with Tschirikow, a Russian officer, and died during the voyage. To the same cluster Dixon applied the epithet "Hazy," by which they are distinguished in some English maps. Both navigators were satisfied that much land which had been regarded by earlier voyagers as part of the continent really belonged to insular groups, the limits of

which were not determined. The port Buccarelli of Maurelle, and the volcanoes he describes, instead of being situated on the main, must be sought in islands not less than forty leagues from it. "I own," says La Perouse, "that I should not be surprised to learn that we had coasted along nothing but islands since we left Cross Sound." Dixon had, in similar circumstances, arrived at the same opinion. From indications perfectly satisfactory to the mind of a seaman, he concluded that "the land we had been coasting along for near a month must be a group of islands."*

We follow the adventurers of the Boussole and Astrolabe to Monterey, the chief town of a Spanish settlement in California. A lieutenant-colonel was intrusted with the government of the province, extending in circumference to not less than two thousand four hundred miles, and having about fifty thousand inhabitants, most of whom led a wandering life, according to the vicissitude of the seasons. The military force on which he relied for aid in supporting his authority did not amount to quite three hundred horsemen, who supply garrisons to five small forts, and furnish a detachment to each of the twenty-five missions or parishes into which the colony is divided. The natives are described as being generally of diminutive size, and exhibiting none of that love of independence which characterizes the tribes of the north, to whose arts and activity they are equally strangers. Their colour very nearly approaches that of the negroes whose hair is not woolly; and a great number of them were without beards, either because they are denied by nature, or considered inconvenient, and therefore removed by an artificial process. Their ingenuity in hunting is very remarkable. One of them was seen with a stag's head fastened on his own, walking on all-fours and pretending to graze; and he played this pantomime with such truth, that the sailors, when within thirty yards, would have fired at him if they

* La Perouse, vol. i. p. 419. Dixon's Voyage, p. 216.

course. Having no confidence either in their intelligence or constancy, they admitted very few of their pupils to the holy communion ; but there was reason to lament that the plan pursued by their instructors was little calculated to remove the ignorance which proved an obstacle to their wishes on a point so important. In all respects, indeed, nothing but a better system was wanting to render the Californias a most valuable acquisition to a European crown ; the soil being uncommonly fertile, the mines at no inconvenient distance, and the fur-trade accessible to merchants at a moderate expense of capital. Events comparatively recent have established the truth of these remarks.

About the end of September, the French frigates left the American coast, and, bound to Manilla, steered such a course as might afford every chance of discovering new lands. In latitude 23° 34′ N. and long 164° 52′ W. they came in sight of an island of very small dimensions, to which La Perouse gave the name of "Necker;" and at the distance of twenty-three leagues they encountered a shoal, which had nearly proved fatal to both. On the 2d January 1787, they cast anchor at Macao, whence, after receiving supplies, they were destined to proceed to the eastern shores of China, to examine the maritime borders of Tartary, and to ascertain the position of certain territories belonging to the sovereign of Japan.*

* When at Macao, the French disposed of their otter skins; a circumstance to which Dixon alludes (p. 320) in a spirit which has given offence to the countrymen of the unfortunate commander, who maintain that he traded solely for the benefit of his seamen. The offensive remark is as follows:—"The Astrolabe and Boussole, commanded by MM. Perouse and De Langle, sailed from France in 1785. They are said to have traced the north-west coast of America from the Spanish settlement of Monterey to 60° north latitude; but this seems improbable, for though these vessels were professedly fitted out on discovery, yet the commanders did not forget that furs were a valuable article; and, accordingly, whilst on the American coast, they procured about six hundred sea-otter skins, chiefly in pieces, of a very inferior quality, and evidently the same as those imported by the Spaniards, whereas had these gentlemen been well in with the coast to the northward, they undoubtedly must have met with sea-otter skins of a quality far superior to what they procured."—

It was not till April that they left the island of Luçon, and when, sailing through the channel of Formosa, they encountered a bank not marked in any chart. The Piscadore Islands attracted the notice of the commodore, who has bequeathed to navigators such a description of them as must prove very useful. His remarks on the Bashee and Loo Choo groups present nothing definite, because he did not land, nor even approach so near the shore as to hold any intercourse with the people, whose fears in every instance seemed to overpower their curiosity. On the 25th May, he passed the Strait of Corea; and in directing his course towards the south-western point of Niphon, he discovered an island which is not found mentioned in the journal of any former seaman. It bears the name of Dagelet, the astronomer of the expedition; is about nine miles in circumference; and, though thinly inhabited, is well covered with trees, whence supplies of timber are conveyed to Corea, which is not more than twenty leagues distant. But La Perouse was less desirous to visit the inhospitable people of Japan, who, while they reject all acquaintance with the rest of the world, wish also to remain unknown, than the Tartars on the western side of the gulf, who are not so hostile to strangers. Their country, besides, was the only part of the globe which had escaped the indefatigable activity of Cook; on which account the French officers were exceedingly impatient to effect a landing, in order that they might associate their names with the knowledge of a distant region, the inhabitants and productions of which were as yet only subjects of conjecture even to the most enlightened individuals in Europe.

The landscape, we are assured, presented the most inviting appearance to the eyes of the sailors as the ships moved along the coast. The freshest spring never exhibited in France such vivid and variegated shades of

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It appears, however, that the skins in question were purchased at Port des François, and were not of very inferior quality; and also that by trading to this extent La Perouse simply fulfilled the instructions put into his hands by command of the king.

green. Every where was the ground carpeted with the same plants which grow in our climates, but more bright and vigorous. At every step were seen roses, lilies, and all the flowers common in our meadows. The summits of the mountains, too, were crowned with pines, and the lower declivities with oaks. On the border of the rivers were willows, birch, and maple ; and on the skirts of the forests appeared apple-trees in blossom, with clumps of hazel, the fruit of which was just beginning to set. The astonishment of the strangers could not fail to be increased, when they considered that there is in the neighbourhood a vast empire, overburdened with an excessive population, the rulers of which, whose polity had obtained praise for the wisdom supposed to be manifested in it, dare not extend themselves beyond their wall to seek subsistence from a soil where vegetation requires rather to be checked than promoted.

La Perouse was now about to achieve the discovery which has associated with his name the highest honour procured to France by the expedition he commanded. The several islands which stretch northward from Japan were, in the year 1787, so imperfectly known to the geographers of Europe, that it still remained doubtful whether Jesso, called by the natives Chika, was not attached to the Asiatic continent; whether, in short, it were not a peninsula, bearing the same relation to Chinese Tartary that Kamtschatka bears to the eastern extremity of the Russian dominions. It therefore became an object of the greatest interest to ascertain whether the strait, which appeared to separate it from the mainland, actually extended to the Sea of Ochotsk, or was merely a gulf running into the interior of the country.

In his endeavours to solve this question, one of the chief purposes of his voyage, he was gratified on the 12th July with a sight of Sagalien, or Tchoka, in the latitude of 48° 35′ north, and landed on it the following day. From the inhabitants, whose descent may perhaps be ascribed to a union of Chinese and Tartars, he learned

the important fact, that the strait which divides their country from the continent does not terminate in the coast, but, at a considerable distance northwards, joins the great ocean. To prove the accuracy of this statement, he proceeded as high as the fifty-second degree, and thereby dispelled all doubt as well in regard to the insular character of the land he had just visited, as with respect to the imaginary gulf which was supposed to penetrate the coast of Tartary. He found, indeed, that the strait of Sagalien was not navigable for large vessels, and was even obliged to admit the probability forced upon him by circumstances, that it will soon be so much filled up with mud as to render the island almost a peninsula. This change, it is apprehended, will arise from the great quantity of earth brought down by the Amour, which, rising in an alpine region of Asia, runs through a space of more than fifteen hundred miles, receives numerous streams in its course, and at length falls into the narrowest part of a long channel; a state of things which is known to contribute powerfully to the formation of new land. The soundings, indeed, diminished so rapidly that the captain of the Boussole could not venture to sail farther into the strait, though he was extremely desirous to reach the open sea in that direction. It is true he had not surveyed the southern parts of Sagalien, having seen nothing of it in a lower latitude than 47° 49′; but he confesses that he would willingly have left this honour to some future navigator, could he have escaped from the narrows of Japan by pursuing a course along the western margin of the island into the ocean beyond it.

Returning to the south, he continued to run along the coast at the distance of two leagues, when, on the 10th August, he discovered, towards the south-west, a small flat island which formed a channel of about six leagues in width with the shore of Sagalien. Steering his course between these two islands, he soon saw a peak, not less than three thousand feet in height, consisting of a bare rock, and having snow on its summit. Sagalien was

now observed to end in a point; every thing indicated that he was approaching its southern extremity, and that the peak belonged to another island still farther south. To the extreme point just mentioned, which is in lat. 45° 57′ N., and long. 142° 34′ E., he assigned the name of Cape Crillon. We give the result in his own words, which, to the professional reader, will be more intelligible than any we could substitute. "The Cape," he remarks, "terminates this island, which is one of the longest from north to south on the globe, separated from Tartary by a channel, in the upper portion of which, owing to banks and seaweed, there is no passage for ships, though there still is for canoes. This island is the Oku-Jesso of the Japanese; and their Jesso is the island of Chika, which was abreast of us, separated from that of Sagalien by a channel of twelve leagues, and from Japan by the Strait of Sangaar, which is its boundary towards the south. The chain of the Kuriles lies farther east, and forms with Jesso and Oku-Jesso a second sea communicating with that of Ochotsk, and from which to the coast of Tartary there is no passage except through the strait we have just discovered, or that of Sangaar, after sailing out between the Kuriles. This point in geography, the most important of all that modern navigators have left to their successors to elucidate, cost us much fatigue, and required many precautions, as the survey of those unknown seas was rendered extremely difficult by incessant fogs."*

The French have been unanimous in the resolution to connect the memory of their favourite navigator with the strait between the northern and southern Jesso, the Tchoka and Chika of the indigenous geographers. This name, says the editor of his voyage, "connected with

* Sagalien is known by a variety of names, Tchoka, Sahalien, Ulahata, Saghalien, Angahata, and Amur. The Chinese call it Ta-han. Subsequent voyagers, it will be found, have thrown doubt on the fact, rather assumed than proved by La Perouse, that the Gulf of Tartary joins the sea of Ochotsk. For the details in the text, see Voyage round the *World*, vol. ii. pp. 56, 57.

the globe by his discoveries and misfortunes, is in no danger of falling into oblivion. Obliged, however, in order to prevent confusion, to change the designation of the channel he brought to light, I did not think I could act more conformably to the national opinion than by naming it La Perouse's Strait." It is admitted, at the same time, that this opening was not quite unknown to the framers of maritime charts, though no one had just notions concerning it. A map of Asia, without date and without a name, but which must have been published subsequently to the adventure of the Dutch in the ship Kastricum, represents Jesso as separated from Sagalien by a strait in the latitude of 44°; and hence, it is conceded by the writer just quoted, that the channel discovered by La Perouse, conjectured by Father Duhalde, adopted and afterwards abandoned by D'Anville, was by the anonymous author of the chart supposed to have an existence, however doubtfully established.

From the Kurile Isles the two frigates proceeded to the Russian settlement of St Peter and St Paul in the steril region of Kamtschatka, where the crews were received with the utmost kindness, and whence the officers despatched a variety of communications to France. The voyage of Cook having been so recently performed, and the information supplied by Captain King being at once minute and authentic, it is quite unnecessary to select any notices relative to this country or people from the posthumous pages now before us. We cannot, however, refrain from repeating an observation, which has been confirmed by all who have touched at the remote station where the Resolution and the Boussole sought supplies for their wearied seamen, that, though the Russians have established a despotic government in those rude climes, it is tempered by principles of mildness and equity which render its inconveniences unfelt.*

* See Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XXI. p. 470,—An Historical Account of the Circumnavigation of the Globe. It is known that among the papers sent by La Perouse from the harbour of Avatsha, was the manuscript of his voyage down to the date at

In his return towards the equator, La Perouse ran about a thousand miles in the parallel of 37° N., hoping to rediscover some of the islands said to have been detected by the Spaniards in former days, but he was not rewarded by any degree of success. On the 21st November, he crossed the line with the view of adding to the discoveries which from time to time had been made in Polynesia, since the various groups which compose it were first visited by Quiros, Mendana, Tasman, and the more early of the English navigators. In the following month, he arrived at Maouna, an island celebrated for its beauty and the fierce character of the inhabitants, and which must for ever bring painful associations to the mind of a Frenchman, on account of the massacre perpetrated upon Captain De Langle and eleven of his followers. The boats of both ships had been sent ashore to procure water, well manned and armed; but the chief officer, dreading no danger, allowed the savages to obtain such an advantage before he had recourse to his weapons, that all his efforts to save his people or his own life proved unavailing. His humanity occasioned his death, and the eminent hazard of more than sixty individuals whom he had under his command, many of whom, besides those who fell, were severely wounded before they could be rescued from the hands of the sanguinary barbarians.

Maouna, it is scarcely necessary to mention, belongs to the cluster to which Bougainville gave the name of the Navigators' Islands; and that, with Oyolava and Pola, it deserves to rank with the finest in the South Sea. From this vicinity, which haunted him with the most depressing recollections, the commodore proceeded to the Friendly Islands, whence, after correcting some mistakes in the charts, and holding a distant communication with the natives, he directed his course to New Holland,

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which he reached Kamtschatka. From New Holland he forwarded to France the continuation of it, describing his course in the Pacific, the massacre at Maouna, and his reception in the English colony.

where, in the month of January 1788, he found himself under the protection of the British flag. All Europeans, he remarks, are countrymen at such a distance from home; and the moment, accordingly, he entered the bay, a midshipman and lieutenant were sent on board his ship, offering, on the part of Captain Hunter, who commanded the Sirius frigate, all the services in his power. It is well known that, after his communications from this colony, nothing was ever heard respecting the proceedings or fate of La Perouse. On the 7th February, he wrote, stating his intention to proceed to the Friendly Islands, and do every thing enjoined in his instructions relative to the southern part of New Caledonia, the island of Santa Cruz, the land of the Arsacides, and the Louisiade of Bougainville; and endeavour to ascertain whether the latter constitutes a part of New Guinea or is separated from it. "Towards the end of July," says he, "I shall pass between New Guinea and New Holland by another channel than Endeavour Straits, if any exist; and during the month of September and part of October, I shall visit the Gulf of Carpentaria and all the coast of New Holland as far as Van Diemen's Land, but in such a manner that it may be possible for me to stretch northwards time enough to arrive at the Isle of France in the beginning of December."*

As no trace of the wrecks was found, either on the shores of the South Sea or of any of the islands which he proposed to visit, it was concluded that both ships must have been swallowed up in a tempest, involving the loss of every life on board. At a later period, however, certain facts were collected which seemed to warrant the conclusion that the catastrophe must have taken place at one of the islands of the Queen Charlotte group, known in England by the name of Vanisoro, and in France as the Isle de Recherche. To these circumstances we shall afterwards have occasion to revert, when de-

* This letter is inserted in the appendix to vol. ii. p. 479 of the Voyage round the World.

scribing the efforts made by his countrymen to obtain intelligence respecting the fatal termination of his voyage, the progress of which they had viewed with the greatest interest.

The acquisitions attained by maritime geography, through the medium of Maurelle, Dixon, Portlock, and La Perouse, might be restricted to very narrow bounds, were we to omit the discoveries of the Frenchman on the coast of Tartary and in the Japan Sea. There he examined a part of the world altogether unknown to Europeans; and removed doubts which had perplexed the views of the practical navigator as well as the delineations of the speculative cosmographer, neither of whom knew the precise position of the principal islands which line the eastern borders of Asia. Maurelle, without any reason, has been called the Cook of modern Spain: his details are confused, and lead to no valuable result. The two English captains did throw some light on the north-western parts of America, and thereby rendered the fur-trade at once safer and more profitable; but, even according to their own statements, their researches were so limited that they had not acquired the means of determining whether they actually reached the continent, or were merely embayed among successive groups of islands. Nor in this respect was La Perouse more successful; for, though he boasts that he examined the coast from Mount Elias down to Nootka Sound, his conclusions are not more satisfactory, and therefore fail to secure the confidence of his reader.

CHAPTER II.

Voyages of D'Entrecasteaux, Marchand, and Vancouver.

French Government resolve to send two Frigates, La Recherche and L'Espérance, under D'Entrecasteaux, in search of La Perouse—Account of Van Diemen's Land—The Captain surveys New Caledonia—Researches in the Solomon and Admiralty Islands—Touches at New Guinea—Examines the western Coast of New Holland—Proceeds to Friendly Isles—Hostile Spirit of the Inhabitants—Visits New Hebrides—Discovers the Islets of Beaupré—Stretches along the Coast of Louisiade—His Death, and Command assumed by M. D'Auribeau—Expedition breaks up at Java on political Grounds—Marchand sails in 1790 on a mercantile Speculation—Touches at the Marquesas—Discovers some small Islands—He anchors in Norfolk Sound—Sails for the Sandwich Islands, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope, completes a Voyage round the World—Vancouver sent out by the British Government to make Inquiries respecting Nootka Sound—Supposed Channels of De Fuca and De Fonte—Discoveries on the Coast of New Holland—State of Inhabitants—Geology—He proceeds to New Zealand.—Discovers the "Snares"—Island of Oparo—The two Ships meet at Otaheite—Vancouver steers for New Albion, and surveys the Coast—Remarks on Channel of De Fuca—Admiralty Inlet—Gulf of Georgia—Arrival at Nootka, and diplomatic Difficulties—Port St Francisco—Monterey—State of Missions—Columbia River—Lieutenant Hergest and Dædalus—His Discoveries—American Coast again examined—Quarrel with Natives—Cook's Inlet—Prince William's Sound—Port Conclusion—Return Home after a Voyage of four Years—Amount of Discoveries—Remarks on the Sandwich Islands—Murder of Hergest—Concluding Observations.

Two years passed in deep anxiety, relieved by occasional gleams of hope, before the French government came to the resolution of sending out ships in search of La Pe-

rouse. The voice of sorrow and entreaty first reached the public ear through the Society of Natural History, whose interests were closely connected with the success of his enterprise. Some of the members appeared at the bar of the National Assembly, where, calling to the recollection of the audience that it was not for trifling objects nor for private emolument he had braved all kinds of danger, they demanded from the public, who would have reaped the fruit of his labours, an expression of sympathy, and an effort to save him should he be still alive. He may now, said they, be enduring sufferings more dreadful than the death we apprehend; he may have escaped shipwreck only to sustain the agony of a hope continually reviving to be continually disappointed; perhaps he has been cast on one of the South Sea Islands, where he stretches forth his hands towards his country and vainly expects a deliverer.

The assembly, having listened to the committees of other public bodies, decreed that the king should be requested to give orders to all the ambassadors, residents, and consuls of France in foreign countries, to entreat, in the name of humanity and the sciences, the different sovereigns in whose dominions they were, to enjoin all their navigators, wherever they might be employed, but particularly in the southern latitudes of the Pacific Ocean, to make the most careful search for the Boussole and Astrolabe; to pursue every inquiry which might serve to determine the question whether the officers and crews had perished; and, if La Perouse and his companions should any where be found, to furnish them with the means of returning to their native land. His majesty was further solicited to equip one or more vessels; to place on board men of science, naturalists, and draftsmen; and to confer on the commander the double duty of searching for the chief of the late expedition, and, at the same time, of making such investigations respecting commerce, and the productions of different climates, as might render the voyage advantageous to

navigation, geography, trade, the arts, and all the practical branches of philosophy.*

Two frigates, La Recherche and L'Espérance, of sixteen guns and 110 men each, were accordingly fitted out for sea, and placed under the command of Rear-admiral D'Entrecasteaux, who, sailing from Brest on the 29th September 1791, reached the Cape of Good Hope about the middle of the following January. But scarcely had he cast anchor in Table Bay when he received a despatch from the officer to whose care was committed the French squadron then stationed in the Indian Ocean, conveying to him the important information that La Perouse had been wrecked on one of the Admiralty Islands. Although the apparent contradictions connected with the intelligence thus forwarded left little ground for hope that he should find his countrymen in any of those isles, he resolved instantly to proceed thither; hereby availing himself of the discretionary power with which the government had intrusted him, to alter the plan of his voyage according as circumstances might seem to favour the accomplishment of its principal object.†

The resolution adopted by the rear-admiral on this occasion must appear somewhat surprising, when we call to mind that La Perouse in his last letter states distinctly that he should proceed from Botany Bay to the Friendly Islands, and carry into execution his instructions relative to the southern part of New Cale-

* Voyage round the World by M. De la Perouse, volume i. p. xxxvii. Introduction. Voyage by M. De la Perouse, p. xv. Paris, 1834, 8vo.

† The despatch mentioned above contained the deposition of the master of a Dutch merchant vessel, who had been at Batavia when Captain Hunter and the other officers of the Sirius frigate, after being wrecked on Norfolk Island, arrived there. He deponed that these Englishmen, when near the Admiralty Islands, had seen some of the natives wearing pieces of the uniform and even the sword-belts of the French marines. Hunter and his friends positively assured the commander of the forces at Cape Town that they had not communicated any such intelligence. D'Entrecasteaux, though still in Table Bay when the officers of the Sirius were there, nevertheless considered it his duty to act on the information received from his superior, however little worthy of credit.

donia, the island of Santa Cruz of Mendana, the south coast of the Arsacides of Surville, and the Louisiade of Bougainville, and endeavour to discover whether this last be connected with New Guinea or separated from it. There is no mention made of the Admiralty Islands. But supposing that the information he had obtained was so free from challenge as to justify the path on which he now entered, it must still be difficult to account for his cruising along the eastern coast of Africa, within a few leagues of the shore, instead of pushing towards the south, where only he could expect to find a wind which would carry him to New Holland. After spending twenty days in a lower latitude than that of the Cape, he discovered his error, and saw that it would be impossible for him, on account of the monsoon, to reach Timor, as he had intended. Upon consulting with M. Huon, the captain of the Espérance, it was agreed that they should stand to the southward, and shape a course for the island of St Paul or Amsterdam, and from thence round the remoter extremity of Van Diemen's Land. In this manner nearly a month was lost, at a very important period of the season, and the confidence of the crews in the skill of their officers not a little shaken.

The first aspect of the island whither they were bound created a feeling of curiosity mixed with fear. The summit was enveloped in clouds which, on a nearer approach, were found to consist of smoke, whence flame was presently observed to issue. This conflagration, on uninhabited land, gave rise to a conjecture that it might be a signal made by some unfortunate persons, who had escaped from shipwreck, to obtain assistance. But it soon became obvious that the mass of fire was too considerable to allow them to suppose that it had been lighted only on the first appearance of the ships, and therefore they passed along without so much as sending a single boat ashore in order to determine the real character of the phenomenon. On the 20th April, they arrived in the Bay of Storms, at the south-eastern point of Van

Diemen's Land, on the north side of which the frigates were brought to anchor in a commodious recess, where the water was smooth in the most tempestuous weather, and the shores covered with beautiful trees. The admiral says it would be in vain for him to attempt to describe the emotions with which the first aspect of this solitary retreat inspired the minds of his people, placed as it were in the extremity of the earth, and closed in so completely that they might easily have considered themselves shut out from the rest of the world. Every thing seemed to partake of the wildness of uncultivated nature. On one hand were trees of vast height, without a branch on the lower parts, but having their summits crowned with evergreen foliage : on the other were shrubs so enterlaced as to be nearly impenetrable, seeking a support from those aged stems, which were about to fertilize the earth whence they had sprung, by their ruins reduced to a state of corruption. It was remarked that a great number of the largest trees had their trunks hollowed out, apparently by means of fire, and were intended as huts to shelter the natives from the inclemency of the weather. The hollow side invariably faced the east, which is the quarter towards which the strongest winds generally blow.*

It was during his continuance in this bay that the admiral discovered the passage between Van Diemen's Land and the islands which lie at some distance from its southern shore. To this strait was given the name of the commander, who was not aware that its importance would be diminished by the knowledge of that larger channel which was brought to light by the surgeon Bass. On each side of the opening of D'Entrecasteaux a few natives were occasionally seen, whose appearance indicated that they were still strangers to all the bless-

* Voyage de D'Entrecasteaux, envoyé à la Recherche de La Perouse, publié par ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur et Roi, sous le Ministère de S. E. le Vice-Amiral Decrès, Compte de l'Empire. Redigé par M. de Rossel, Ancien Capitaine de Vaisseau. 2 tomes, avec un Atlas, à Paris 1808, tome i. p. 54-78.

ings of social life. At one place were found some bones, which it was supposed must have belonged to the body of a very young girl. Certain fragments of broiled flesh were attached to these bones; affording some ground for the suspicion which arose in the minds of the navigators that the inhabitants were addicted to cannibalism, more especially as they were discovered at a station where the savages usually cooked their victuals. But the author of the volumes which record this fact does not admit the justness of the conclusion embraced by some of his countrymen. He maintains that a single instance, separated from all other indications of an appetite so unnatural, is not sufficient to justify an inference than which none could be more reproachful to human nature; sinking it below the most ferocious beasts of prey, which, even when most pressed by hunger, spare their own species. He is therefore disposed to conclude that the aborigines of those remote islands are charged with a crime which has no other foundation than the probable practice of consuming by fire the last remains of the human body. Perhaps a more intimate acquaintance with the inhabitants of the South Sea would have shaken his belief in their abstinence from the most revolting of all food. It may indeed be doubtful whether the bones examined by the naturalist were those of a human being or of a kangaroo; but as to the practice, which excited his disgust and thereby supported his incredulity, the more recent annals of Polynesia deprive us of the satisfaction of entertaining any reasonable scepticism.*

After spending nearly a month in the luxury of their anchorage, they set sail, and on the 16th June reached the Island of Pines on the southern extremity of New Caledonia. From hence to its northern point they assure us that they examined with minute attention the whole of the western coast, standing in with both frigates close to the reef of coral rock which is

* See Quarterly *Review*, vol. iii. p. 30.

said to bind the full extent of the island as it were with an uninterrupted chain, whose edge, rising to the surface of the sea, shows, even in the calmest weather, a rippling line as far as the eye can reach. They assert that this unbroken ledge did not afford such an opening as would allow even the smallest of their boats to reach the shore; and, as they saw neither natives nor canoes, they concluded that it might equally prevent them from coming out, and thus contribute to the peculiar mildness of character which the captain ascribes to the inhabitants on the opposite side. D'Entrecasteaux, however, adds, that being in lat. 24° 4′ south, they did at length detect a break in the reef; but as, on approaching close to it, he observed the sea dashing with great violence inside, he gave it the name of the Deceitful Haven, and continued his voyage. This was rather an unfortunate appellation, for had he examined it with the attention he ought to have bestowed, he would have found it one of the finest harbours in the world. Captain Kent of the Buffalo, who in 1803 anchored there some time, describes the haven as at once beautiful and extensive. It is formed, he states, by islands, many of them being of considerable size, which are about four miles within the reef that extends, with a few intervals, along the whole of the south-western side, distant off shore from four to eight miles, but considerably farther from the north and south ends, where the land is out of sight to the observer even when on the verge of the coral girdle which invests so large a portion of New Caledonia.

The harbour now described is known to navigators as Port St Vincent, the name given to it by the discoverer, who has laid it down in lat. 22° 0′ 10″ S. and long. 165° 55′ 20″ E. The passage into it is three quarters of a mile in width, the anchorage well sheltered, the water perfectly smooth, and the depth from four to twelve fathoms. During a stay of six weeks, the Buffalo was frequently visited by the natives, who took on board fish, yams, sugar-canes, spears, clubs, and nets, neatly

made; the whole of which they were happy to exchange for such things as might be offered. Red cloth particularly struck their fancy, and was in great request; but iron, the commodity most highly prized in the Pacific, as they knew not its use, they showed no inclination to possess. On the whole, they were a superior race of black people, answering the description given by Captain Cook of the inhabitants of Balade, on the north-eastern side of the island.

Leaving New Caledonia, the Recherche and her consort proceeded in the direction of the Solomon Islands, all of which are surrounded with reefs similar to those already described; some of them, it is stated, being as steep as the wall of a house, and rising in that perpendicular form from an unfathomable depth of water. It is to be regretted that D'Entrecasteaux was not led, either by curiosity or the love of science, to examine into their structure, whence might be derived some knowledge in regard to the operation of the wonderful animalcules whose productions extend thousands of miles, and cover a large expanse in the Pacific Ocean. On the 17th July, the frigates reached New Ireland, where they lay at anchor till the 24th, oppressed with incessant torrents of rain which prevented the officers from making a single observation. Passing through St George's Channel as defined by Carteret, they arrived at Vendola, one of the Admiralty group, which was supposed to be near the spot where, according to the depositions made by the merchantmen, the traces of La Perouse's expedition had been seen. A boat being sent ashore, the natives flocked to the beach in great numbers; and the air of confidence with which they advanced, as well as their open and pleasing countenances, were highly prepossessing. Many of them had strings of shells round their waists, which the admiral supposes may have been mistaken by the crew of the Dutch vessels for French belts, while the peculiar colour of their skin might have given the idea of a naval uniform. A similar deception, arising from the dominion of fancy over the senses,

had nearly imposed upon himself and the other officers, who thought they perceived, long before they were near enough to see objects distinctly, men covered with red cloth; while the branches and roots of a tree tumbling about in the breakers on the edge of the reef were at once converted into the wreck of the Boussole and Astrolabe!

A short residence satisfied D'Entrecasteaux that La Perouse had not perished among the Admiralty Islands, nor left a single trace of having touched at any of the cluster after his residence at Botany Bay. He therefore directed his course towards the shores of New Guinea, where he dropped anchor on the 17th August. Shortly afterwards, he proceeded to Amboyna, a settlement long occupied by Dutch colonists, whose industry had conferred on it a degree of importance which it could never have derived from its natural qualities. Having repaired his ships and refreshed his crews, he set sail for the western coast of New Holland, which he surveyed with a considerable degree of attention. Doubling Cape Leuwin, he discovered a bay which still bears the name of one of his frigates, the Espérance; and he advanced so far with his face towards the east that a little more perseverance would have secured to him the honour of making known Bass's Strait. The whole line of coast which bounds Australia on the south-west is the most dreary that can be imagined, consisting of small sand-hills, salt-lakes, and stagnant marshes. It still appears in our maps as Nuyt's Land, the name of a Dutch seaman, whose report first rendered it familiar to the ears of cosmographers.*

In January 1793, the navigators, whose thoughts seem now to have been more sedulously directed to maritime adventure than to the recovery of their lost countrymen, steered once more for Van Diemen's Land, and anchored in the Bay of Storms. On this occasion

* Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, tome xv. p. 92. "C'était partout la même aridité: on ne voyait que des rochers ou des dunes de sable, qui laissaient peu d'espoir de trouver de l'eau."

they enjoyed a less restricted intercourse with the natives, whom they found to be a mild inoffensive people, and not in any degree chargeable with the revolting usages of cannibalism. Each family appeared to live apart in great harmony and affection, being content with the simple food supplied by the sea, such as shell-fish, lobsters, slugs, and similar productions. They refused to taste the victuals presented to them by the sailors, and turned away with aversion from strong drink, whether wine or spirituous liquors. Having not the least desire for trinkets, iron, or red cloth, they had no propensity to thieving. In Adventure Bay, the admiral searched for the fruit-trees which had been planted by Captain Cook, some of which were still in existence, but so weak and languishing as to hold out no hope of their ever bearing fruit: no traces were found of the hogs left there.

From Van Diemen's Land the expedition steered a direct course for the Friendly Islands, and on the 23d March touched at Tongataboo. The inhabitants, whose character deceived even the penetration and vigilance of the English navigator, conducted themselves in such a manner as to lead first to disputes and afterwards to actual hostilities. To repress their petulance and rouse their fears, the officers deemed it advisable to make them acquainted with the power of firearms. For this purpose two birds were suspended from the branch of a tree at a little distance, and one of the best marksmen presented himself in full confidence of bringing them down at the first shot, but he missed them twice; a second marine renewed the attempt with still smaller success, for his musket would not go off; and these failures caused peals of laughter to burst forth on every side, especially among the natives who themselves carried arms. One of them drew his bow, and pierced one of the birds; an exploit which was followed by the loudest applause, and contrasted in a manner sufficiently mortifying with the deficient expertness of the Europeans. A third musketeer indeed came forward, and

brought down the second bird; but the first impression remained, and it was remarked that the confidence of the savages in their own strength was augmented, and their fear of the French weakened in proportion. The insulting air now perceptible among them made D'Entrecasteaux conclude that his means of defence were too weak, and that it would be necessary for one of the frigates, without loss of time, to approach the island, and overawe the people by the appearance of his cannon.*

It soon appeared that the precautions thus adopted were not unnecessary, for the same night one of his sentinels was knocked down at his post and his musket taken from him. A conflict now appeared inevitable, and the natives seemed willing to try the fortune of war; but the chiefs, more prudent than their followers, and appreciating at a higher rate the value of a free intercourse with the strangers, carried the culprit on board, whom, at the same time, they pronounced worthy of death. Justice on this occasion was satisfied with a more gentle punishment: the assailant was flogged and dismissed. At a later period a more serious affray took place, attended with the loss of life on the part of the islanders; but even this misfortune did not materially interrupt the friendly disposition which continued to be professed by the principal inhabitants.†

The people of Tongataboo still cherished the recollection of Cook, especially the family of Fatafé, by whom his memory was regarded with much affection. There was reason to believe, though all classes seemed desirous to conceal the fact, that the horses and cows left by the English were dead or destroyed; but their pigs were most abundant, and had greatly improved in quality by the introduction of the European species. No token was found at any of the Friendly Islands that the cap-

* Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xv. p. 150.

† Ibid. p. 169. "Cet événement n'a pas paru troubler la bonne intelligence qui avait alors régné entre les habitans de Tongatabou et nous."

tain of the Boussole had been known to the natives, either in traffic or in war. No trace could be discovered of any thing that had belonged to him; no French manufacture or commodity; neither clothes nor trinkets; and when the admiral showed copies of the medal which La Perouse had carried out with him, the chiefs declared that they had never seen any thing similar. He therefore resolved to leave that archipelago, and, steering towards the north-west, he passed the islands of Tanna, Annatom, and Erromango, three of the New Hebrides, without finding a vestige of ship or crew. At length he came to anchor in the harbour of Balade, on the north-eastern extremity of New Caledonia, where he found the natives to resemble in their persons those of Van Diemen's Land, but to differ from them in their habits, inasmuch as they are exceedingly ferocious and much addicted to stealing. He asserts, besides, that they are undisguised cannibals, and manifest a ravenous avidity for human flesh. On this head, as is well known, intelligent navigators and historians hold different opinions; some of them continuing to deny, even in the face of incontestable facts, that any of the South Sea Islanders are anthropophagi, while others maintain that the propensity, if not the usage, is established upon the clearest evidence. No attentive reader of the latest missionary records can any longer console himself by the persuasion that voyagers have done injustice to the indigenous tribes of the New Hebrides, and especially to the bloodthirsty families who occupy Erromango.

It would be injurious to the fame of D'Entrecasteaux not to mention, that on his passage from Tongataboo to New Caledonia he discovered some islets apparently uninhabited, to which he assigned the appellation of "Beaupré," and ascertained their position to be lat. 20° 15′ 30″ S., and long. 163° 50′ E.*

* "Une terre très basse s'offrit à la vue; on vit cette terre entourée de brisans sur lesquels nous eussions donné, sans la précaution de l'officier de quart. Cet écueil dangereux fut reconnu de très près. Il peut avoir de neuf à onze *milles de longueur* du nord au sud, et

Taking leave of a people who had nothing to recommend them, the admiral proceeded in a course due north till he reached Santa Cruz, one of the New Hebrides, having lost M. Huon, his second in command, before he commenced this part of the voyage. After anchoring near the island just named, he had the misfortune to witness a quarrel between his men and the natives, which terminated in the death of one of the latter, who was shot when leading the assault against the strangers. On passing the Solomon group, his ships were attacked by a number of proas, which, both in their construction and ornament, indicated an advanced state of certain of the arts. It is true that the men in them were naked, but their bodies were decorated with plumes, bracelets, and necklaces composed of mother of pearl. He next stretched along the northern coast of the Louisiade, an archipelago discovered by Bougainville in 1768; and after examining the south-eastern side of New Guinea, he passed the Straits of Dampier, having on his left hand the northern verge of New Britain. The natives of the first-mentioned cluster appeared to be more civilized than those of any islands he had recently visited. Not only were they more attentive to dress than the inhabitants of the Solomons or of New Caledonia, but they also used shields as weapons of defence; they had large boats with masts; and they showed a taste for European manufactures, though they were perfectly indifferent to iron. This last circumstance, so rare among uncivilized nations, taken in connexion with the equipment of their vessels and their personal finery, seems to justify the conclusion that they must have found out a substitute for that metal, which, as an aid to mechanical operations, is more valuable than any other.

On the 20th July, the commander of the expedition,

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sept à huit milles de largeur de l'est à l'ouest. Nous vîmes deux petites îles boisées, placées à la partie orientale de ce recif, et une troisième plus grande que les deux autres au milieu; nous les avions nommées *îles Beaupré*."—Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xv. pp. 189, 190.

whose health had been gradually giving way, sunk under the load of care, and perhaps of disappointment, to which his long voyage had subjected him. It had already been resolved to proceed to Java, with the intention of renewing their stores and checking the progress of disease among the men. M. D'Auribeau, to whom the command now descended, adopted the views of his predecessor, and proceeded to act upon them without delay. In pursuance of this object, he sailed past the Admiralty Islands a second time, and coasting New Guinea, Waijoo, and Boero, he entered the Strait of Booton; and at length, on the 27th October, he anchored at Sourabaya on the shores of Java, the point at which the history of the expedition in search of La Perouse found its termination. It is not meant that the main purpose of the voyage was attained, or that the means of discovery were exhausted, for in neither point had the ends accomplished corresponded to the magnitude of preparation, and to the hopes connected with the high character of those to whose hands the enterprise was confided. But on the arrival of the frigates at the Dutch settlement, the officers had the mortification to learn that their native country was desolated by the sanguinary proceedings of the revolutionists; that the king had been beheaded; and that a war had begun with England, in which Holland also was involved. Having no government to acknowledge, they determined to leave every individual to take the side to which his principles or inclination might lead him. The ships were dismantled; the engagement of the crews was declared to be at an end; two parties were formed, one espousing the cause of the royalists, the other that of the republicans; and as D'Auribeau died almost immediately after landing, the keeping of the journals, charts, and astronomical observations was intrusted to M. Rossel, now become senior officer. The greater number obtained a passage to Europe in certain Dutch Indiamen, then about to sail; several of which were taken by English cruisers, including those on

board of which were the journals, naturalists, their whole collection of specimens, and all the materials of their history, nautical and scientific. Copies, however, were supplied to Rossel as soon as he was permitted to return home; a privilege which, as being a royalist, was not conceded to him till after the accession of Napoleon, under whose auspices the voyage was published in the year 1808.*

The editor observes, that we must not expect to find in the narrative of D'Entrecasteaux's expedition any important discoveries, such as those of the ancient navigators who made us acquainted with countries of vast extent, or with new channels to reach those previously known. All the great masses of land were already brought to light, and hence nothing remained for him but the task of visiting with more minute attention the various coasts of which a knowledge had formerly reached Europe. As a proof of his unremitting care and the success which followed it, the reader is referred to the detailed description given of the southern shore of Van Diemen's Land, and the discovery of the strait which separates it from the contiguous islands. It is maintained, in short, that his labours were deserving of all praise; though it has been asserted on another authority more worthy of reliance, that even his own journal furnishes incontestable proofs of inaction and a total absence of curiosity. Satisfied with idle conjectures founded on the reports of his officers, he seldom gave himself the trouble of setting his foot on shore. The reader has seen his want of skill on leaving the Cape of

* The plans and papers drawn by M. Beautemps Beaupré, hydrographer-in-chief, were among those captured on board the "Espérance," and placed with the others in the hands of the Admiralty; and though they were all put into the possession of M. Rossel, "comme l'officier le plus ancien de l'expédition"—it is said that the English board "sans doute a pu faire usage des reseignmens qu'elle en a tirés, lorsqu'en 1797 et 1798 elle a envoyé reconnaître les découvertes faites à la terre de Van Diemen." The editor afterwards confessed that he had fallen into error, as no such expedition as he describes sailed from England in either of those years.—Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xv. pp. 6, 7.

Good Hope; his vague speculations at the island of St Paul; his lack of perseverance on the south coast of New Holland, which lost him the merit of discovering Bass's Strait; and his mistaken views as to the natives of Tasmania, whom he loads with the imputation of cannibalism. He is chargeable, besides, with a serious neglect in delaying so long to visit the Friendly Isles, to which La Perouse had distinctly stated his intention of proceeding upon leaving Botany Bay. He did not arrive at them till the 23d March 1793, though they are within a month's sail of Van Diemen's Land, which he left in May the foregoing year. Nay, in June 1792, when at New Caledonia, he passed the Friendly Islands, though not distant from them more than a run of eight days, with the wind at south-west, the most favourable point from which it could blow. Thus nearly twelve months were lost in arriving at the group to which, by his instructions, he was directed to go without delay, and where intelligence was most likely to be received. His unfortunate countryman and all his companions might, for aught he knew to the contrary, have fallen into the hands of savages, and be anxiously expecting their release, while he was circumnavigating New Holland; studying the political relations of Amboyna; or composing memoirs on the population, commerce, and religion of the great Indian archipelago.*

Postponing all further notice relative to the captain of the Boussole and his followers till we arrive at the era of Dumont D'Urville, we proceed to give some account of the labours of Captain Etienne Marchand, who began a voyage round the world in the year 1790. This officer, on returning from a mercantile speculation to Bengal, made known to his countrymen in the south of France the lucrative trade in furs which the English were carrying on between Asia and the north-western coast of America. Influenced by the hope of sharing in these advantages, a commercial establishment at Mar-

* Quarterly Review, vol. iii. p. 41.

seilles freighted a ship of three hundred tons, the charge of which they committed to the gentleman who had conveyed to them intelligence so important, placing under his command a crew of fifty men, and two lieutenants whose names were Masse and Chenal. The vessel was called "Le Solide," because it was constructed on a principle combining such a degree of strength and power of resistance, as to protect all on board against the effect of those accidents which are inseparable from an enterprise of similar duration.

Marchand sailed from the port of Marseilles on the 14th December 1790, and in the month of April next year he passed the meridian of Cape Horn. Upon entering the Pacific, his attention was chiefly occupied by the strange fishes and birds which presented themselves to his view. One of the latter gave rise to much profound speculation on the part of M. Roblet the surgeon and the sub-captain Chenal, who found some difficulty in reconciling the taste of its flesh to the qualities of its food. In short, says the historian of the voyage, this bird presents a kind of problem which our navigators have not sought to resolve; but not knowing that any voyager had ever designed it under any other name than that of the "white bird," they used the privilege always claimed by discoverers, and called it the antarctic pigeon.

It had been the intention of the captain to proceed at once from the Cape de Verd Islands to the north-western coast of America, and without touching at any port on either side of the continent. The health of his crew, it is admitted, was so little impaired either by fatigue or change of food, that no obstacle on this head presented itself to defeat the design of accomplishing a voyage of four thousand leagues without entering a harbour, whether for intelligence or supplies. This project is said to have had a seducing aspect in the eyes of the ship's company, because it put in their power the merit of overcoming a difficulty,—a triumph which seamen are always willing to remember. But the love of fame on

their part, and the desire of economy entertained by their employers, were at length compelled to yield to the necessity of obtaining a supply of fresh water; and with this view, about the middle of May, he directed his course towards the Marquesas.

The group now mentioned, it is well known, was discovered by Mendana in 1595, and visited in 1773 by Cook, to whose account of the inhabitants and productions nothing material has since been added. Marchand found the people very little changed, and in no respect improved by their intercourse with Europeans. They displayed the same desire for glittering toys, the same propensity to thieving, and the same undisguised licentiousness which had marked their character in former days. It did not escape their penetration that the Solide was not equipped as a ship of war, and therefore was less an object of terror. A gun was indeed fired over their heads, but it created no feeling of alarm. On the contrary, the audacity of the warriors seemed to be thereby increased; they darted their lances against the side of the vessel, threw missiles on board, and even snatched a musket from the hands of a man who was appointed to guard the boats. A similar violence was inflicted upon the captain himself during a short excursion into the neighbouring woods; and when attempting to pursue the robber, his attention was immediately attracted to the danger of his own servant, who had been thrown down and plundered by a number of the natives, whose cupidity had been excited by the appearance of a box which he carried under his arm. But the savages, though covetous, were not vindictive. A blunderbuss in the hand of one of the watering-party accidentally went off and wounded a man; a circumstance which caused some fear among his tribe, but no revenge. The surgeon, upon going ashore to dress it, found the limb so skilfully bandaged as to produce in his mind no small degree of astonishment; and a few presents distributed among the relatives removed every unkind impression to which this unfortunate incident had *given rise.*

Taowatte, sometimes called Santa Christina, the only island in the cluster of which any knowledge was acquired, is about twenty-three miles in circumference, and appears to be entirely volcanic. The soil is in general barren, and its productions are consequently less abundant than those of Otaheite or the other members of the Society group; but the inhabitants are described as the finest race in the South Sea in respect to personal attributes. The men, who are tall and well formed, have broad shoulders and expanded chests; and their activity, whether on land or in water, is very remarkable. The colour of their skin is a light brown; their hair, which has no resemblance to that of the negro, varies from flaxen to auburn and black; the countenance is open and frank, the nose aquiline, the eyes large and expressive, and the teeth white and regularly set. The women are said to be beautiful, and not inattentive to their appearance, being less tattooed than the other sex, and not more encumbered with ornament. The weapons in most common use are lances, pikes, javelins, clubs, and even a kind of sabre; their hatchets are composed of a hard species of stone; and their cloth is made from the bark of the mulberry tree.*

Leaving the anchorage of Taowatte on the 20th June, Marchand discovered in the north-western quarter some elevated land, upon which the officers, imagining that it had not attracted the notice of any former navigator, bestowed the name of their leader; an honour it did not long possess. Appearances of other islands were distinguished, one of which, though he could not reach it, he nevertheless called Baux, in compliment to his employers, certain merchants at Marseilles. A couple, not much elevated above the surface of the water, were named the Two Brothers; in addition to which may

* Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, tome xv. p. 392. Speaking of the colour of the natives, the author states—"Il en a remarqué dont la couleur se rapproche des Indiens Malabares; mais plusieurs diffèrent à peine des Européens de la classe du peuple, et seulement leur peau est un peu tannée.—Les femmes, quoique portant en apparence plus de vêtemens que les hommes, ne sont guères *plus* vêtues."

be specified the Plate Island, the Obelisk Point, the Peak Rock, and the Bay of Welcome. The whole of these scattered spots were denominated, with reference to the events which had recently taken place in France, the Revolution Islands; and these, we are assured, occupy one degree and forty-two minutes in latitude, though only forty-four minutes in longitude.

The historian of this voyage finds fault with Captain Cook for substituting the name "Resolution Bay" in place of the title of *Madre de Dios*, given to the port by Mendana. He maintains that our countryman not only knew but proclaimed the identity of the two bays; but not being able to escape the influence of the national genius, and wishing that the Marquesas should in some form bear the seal of England, he suppressed the appellation the harbour had received from the original discoverer, and which it had borne during the long period of two centuries, in order that he might introduce the name of his own ship. He is unwilling to suspect that Cook had resolved to make reprisals upon the Spaniards, who imposed without remorse the titles of their saints on places which the heretics discovered; and he admits that in restoring their own names to isles, capes, and bays, he proved in many cases his respect for their ancient denominations. There is no one who will not assent to the truth of the remark with which the French author concludes his observations on this head; namely, that however much it may gratify self-love to associate, by means of a new term, one's own memory with certain places long before discovered by others, it is a practice which cannot fail to introduce into the nomenclature of geography a degree of confusion that must sometimes embarrass navigators, and even open the door to a multitude of anachronisms. These attempts will in the end prove fruitless; for sooner or later history will avenge herself on such substitutions, and restore to each locality the name it ought to bear, and the discovery to him who made it. But even this justice, however vigilant and impartial it may prove, *will not*, we fear, place M. Mar-

chand high on the roll of those distinguished seamen who have added to the boundaries of the world, and extended our acquaintance with the physical history of the human race.

About the 7th August, the Solide was anchored near Pitt Island in Norfolk Sound, called by the natives Tchinkitané. In the traffic which ensued, the Indians showed that they were not ignorant of the value now set by Europeans on the commodities peculiar to those desert shores. They showed off their articles to the best advantage, and examined with great care such as were offered to them in return. Woollen cloths of English manufacture were in the highest request; many of the people being entirely clothed with them, in preference to the furs now so much prized by the most civilized nations of the earth. The sea-otter, for the skin of which the Chinese give an exorbitant price, is about three feet in length; the hair is exceedingly beautiful, and a good specimen has been known to sell at Canton for nearly a hundred dollars.

The French had no opportunity of learning more in regard to the opinions and usages of the Americans than is to be found in the volumes of Cook, Dixon, and La Perouse. The dwellers on Pitt Island were rather short in stature, having small deeply-sunk eyes, snubbed noses, high cheek-bones, and a brown colour varying from a light to a very dark tint. They treat their women with attention, never exposing them to the painful labour to which females on other parts of the coast are commonly subjected. But the climate and aspect of the country itself presented the same repulsive qualities which impressed so deeply the imagination of former navigators. The bay is nearly encompassed with mountains, the summits of which are covered with perennial snow, and the lower slopes with a wild species of wood neither used nor tended. The cove in which the ship lay was in lat. 57° 4′ N., and in long. 137° 59′ W.

Finding little encouragement in the way of barter among a people who had learned all the artifices of

commerce without its honour, Marchand proceeded to Queen Charlotte's Islands, where to his great mortification he learned that a vessel had been recently on the coast which carried off nearly all the skins. The few that remained unsold seemed reserved for Englishmen, whose terms of dealing the native merchants insinuated were more liberal, or whose goods were more suitable to their market. After some attempts equally fruitless on other parts of the American shore, the captain set sail for the Sandwich Islands, on his way to China; whence, having disposed of his furs at a very low price, he directed his course to the Isle of France, the Cape of Good Hope, St Helena, and Toulon, thereby accomplishing a voyage round the world in the short period of twenty months. To the mercantile speculators at Marseilles the trip was an unfortunate one, being attended with a heavy loss; and the chief officer, little gratified by the reception he met with at home, returned forthwith to the Mauritius, in possession of his journal and other papers. It appears, however, that Chenal, the second in command, kept a formal record of all proceedings on board, more especially such as respected the main incidents of the voyage, the discoveries supposed to have been made in the neighbourhood of the Marquesas, and the astronomical observations which form the basis of nautical science. When it was resolved to publish, the literary part of the work was committed to the charge of Fleurieu, whose attention had been much directed to maritime subjects. The reader must have observed that the only interesting portion of the narrative is confined to the description of the islands and other prominent points, which, during a rather hazy state of the weather, seemed to present themselves to the eye of the captain when he left Santa Christina, with his face towards the north.*

The voyage of Vancouver, of which we are now to present an outline, had its origin in a misunderstanding which took place in the year 1790 between Great

* The Voyage of Marchand was published at Paris in 1794, and afterwards in England in two *volumes quarto*.

Britain and Spain relative to Nootka Sound. The two governments were on the point of declaring war against each other, nearly on the same principle which gave so much importance to the dispute touching the Falkland Islands, about twenty years before. On either side a feeling prevailed that national honour was implicated; and in this country especially, the public voice would have loudly declared against any compromise which might seem to have even the remotest connexion with the fear of consequences, should an appeal be made to arms. But wisdom at length prevailed, and claims, which might have involved the whole of Europe in a sanguinary struggle, were adjusted by the balancing power of a little negotiation. It nevertheless seemed expedient to the English cabinet to send out an officer to secure possession of the settlement, and also to determine, if possible, the geographical question respecting the existence of a navigable passage between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.*

For the purposes now mentioned Captain Vancouver was selected; and his instructions were, after accomplishing the mission at Nootka Sound, to examine that part of the coast occupied by the chain of islands discovered by the several vessels engaged in the fur-trade, and "to ascertain with the greatest exactitude, the nature and extent of every communication by water which might seem to tend to facilitate commercial relations between the north-west coast and the countries on the east of the continent inhabited by British subjects or claimed by Great Britain; and in particular, to

* Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World, &c., performed in the years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, 1795, in the Discovery Sloop of War, and Armed Tender Chatham, under the command of Captain George Vancouver, 3 vols 4to, London, 1798. In the Introduction it is mentioned that the Spaniards had committed depredations on different branches of the British commerce on the north-west coast of America, and that they had seized on the English vessels and factories in Nootka Sound. It was therefore deemed expedient that an officer should be sent to receive back, in form, a restitution of the territories of which the Spaniards had taken possession.

search for the strait of John de Fuca, and to examine if Cook's River have not its source in some of the lakes frequented by the Canadian traders, or by the servants of the Hudson's Bay Company.

The question to which allusion is made in the latter part of these instructions was revived by the discoveries of Dixon and other adventurers on the western coast of North America. Once more the archipelago of St Lazarus was called into existence, as well on their authority as on that of the famous Admiral de Fonte and of Mr Shapely, a skipper from the United States, who was said to have sailed through a mediterranean sea, where he actually met the Spanish navigator just named. The channel of De Fuca, an opening not less imaginary, was also referred to by those who made bold to condemn the haste of Captain Cook, and to rank him among the *pursuers of peltry*, solely because he held the opinion, in which a minute examination of the coast strengthened his conviction, that there exists not a channel in a lower parallel than sixty degrees, through which a communication could take place between the Pacific Ocean and any part of the northern Atlantic.

Besides the usual instructions issued on such occasions, the captain received a copy of an order addressed by the Spanish minister to the governor of Port St Lawrence, directing the latter to put into the hands of his Britannic Majesty's officer full possession of the "buildings and districts, or parcels of land, which were occupied by the subjects of that sovereign in April 1789, as well in the port of Nootka as in the other said to be called Port Cox, and to be situated about sixteen leagues distant from the former to the southward."

The Discovery, to the command of which Vancouver was appointed, was a vessel of about three hundred and fifty tons burden, carrying ten guns of various sizes, and a hundred and thirty men including officers. The Chatham, described as an armed tender, mounted ten small cannon, and had on board forty-five seamen; the charge of her being intrusted to Lieutenant Broughton,

whose character amply justified the selection. After repeated delays, the two ships left England in the beginning of April 1791. On the 10th July, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where the necessity of making some repairs detained them more than a month. Bearing towards the coast of New Holland, they pursued an unfrequented tract, between those which had been adopted by Dampier and Marian. On the 27th September, they made land, and in latitude 35° 3′ S., and in longitude 160° 35′ 30″ E., passed a lofty promontory, to which was given the name of Cape Chatham, in honour of the earl who at that period presided at the Admiralty. Other points successively presented themselves, and were distinguished by the descriptive terms of Baldhead, Breaksea Island, Michaelmas, and Seal Island. Want of fuel induced some of the officers to go ashore, and there they found the most miserable human habitation that ever their eyes beheld. The shape of the dwelling was that of a beehive, vertically divided into two equal parts, one of which formed the hut, in height about three feet, and in diameter about four and a half. It was not, however, constructed without some degree of uniformity, with slight twigs of no greater substance than those used for making bakers' baskets, which were again covered with the bark of trees and small green boughs.

Nor did the aspect of the country exhibit any thing more inviting. The shore consisted either of naked rocks or of white barren sand; beyond which dreary boundary the surface of the ground seemed covered with a sickly herbage, diversified by a few dwarf trees and stunted shrubs. But the interior presented a far more fertile and pleasing appearance. In the centre of the harbour was an island adorned with the most beautiful grass; and instead of the steril cliffs which compose the borders of the sound, the distant hills delighted the eye with the view of luxuriant forests and other tokens of a generous soil. It was therefore resolved to take possession of the country in the name of the king,

and to honour the port just discovered by the titles of George the Third and of his eldest daughter the Princess Royal. Near the sound was observed a small stream of excellent water; and on tracing its meanders through a copse, the captain found himself in a deserted village, consisting of about two dozen miserable huts, chiefly of the same construction and materials as that already described. This spot had probably been the residence of a considerable tribe; and the form as well as arrangement of the dwellings, mean as they were, justified the conclusion that the inhabitants were not altogether unacquainted with the distinctions of rank.

Besides the little station now mentioned, and which was visited by Vancouver himself, Mr Broughton discovered one at the distance of two miles. It was of the same magnitude, but appeared of much later date, as the huts were comparatively new, and must have been recently occupied. The choice of situation might have excited some surprise, had it not occurred to the recollection of the Englishman that a swamp is convenient to those who are unwilling to put themselves to the fatigue of carrying water from a great distance. It is remarked that the larger trees in the vicinity of both villages had been hollowed out by means of fire, so as to afford to the people that shelter which, during inclement weather, they have no other means of obtaining. No species of furniture or utensil was seen in any of the houses; and the only articles which seemed to have attracted a little ingenuity and labour were some pieces of stick in the form of a spear. The bark was stripped off, and the thicker end, after having been exposed some time to the action of flame, had been scraped into a point capable of inflicting a wound by stabbing. On one of the weapons the marks of blood were still perceptible. Fire, indeed, appears to be their principal instrument, whether for clearing their lands, destroying wild beasts, securing food, or pursuing their simple manufactures. This is an expedient to which recourse is frequently made by rude nations, who know the

power of the element they employ, but understand not how to direct its operations. When the forest is set on fire in a dry season, the ravages produced cannot fail to be very extensive; and the navigators remark accordingly that, during their excursions on shore, they did not see a spot, even under the rudest cultivation, which had not been previously scorched by those periodical burnings. Where the country was well wooded, the loftiest trees had the topmost branches consumed, yet none of the trunks seemed totally destroyed by it; but even in places where the luxuriance of the soil had obliterated its effects among the more hardy shrubs, the ground was perceived to be strewed over with the remains of stumps which could not resist the force of the conflagration.

The climate on the south-western shores of New Holland was pronounced extremely favourable, so far as any judgment could be formed from the short residence to which the captain found it convenient to restrict himself. Fahrenheit's thermometer, at the time of year answering to the beginning of April in the northern hemisphere, stood at fifty-three degrees, and it afterwards rose as high as sixty-four. The health of the crews bore testimony to the salubrity of the atmosphere; while the heat was sufficiently great to bring to maturity all the productions necessary to a comfortable subsistence, as well as those which contribute to the luxuries of life in a more advanced condition of society. With reference to its geological qualities, the appearance of the country along the coast is said to resemble in most respects that of Africa near the Cape of Good Hope. The surface seemed to be chiefly composed of sand mixed with decayed vegetables, varying exceedingly in point of richness, but on the whole superior to that of the other colony. The principal rock partakes much of the nature of coral; and it would seem, says Vancouver, that its elevation above the ocean is of modern date, both because the bank which extends along shore is, generally speaking, formed of that ingredient,

and also because it is found on the highest hills, especially on the summit of Baldhead, which is sufficiently raised above the level of the sea to be distinctly seen at the distance of fourteen leagues. Here the coral was entirely in its original state, particularly in one level spot comprehending about eight acres, which produced not the slightest degree of herbage on the white sand that occupied the whole of this space. The branches of coral protruded through the surface, and were seen standing exactly like those which are beneath the waves in all parts of the tropical ocean, with ramifications of different sizes, some not half an inch, others four or five inches in circumference. In these elevated masses and fields of coralline substance, sea-shells were observed in great abundance ; some nearly in a perfect state still adhering to the original rock on which they had grown, and others in different stages of decay. The coral was friable in various degrees, the extremities of the branches being easily reduced to powder, while those which were close to the surface, or under it, required some force to separate them from the base whence they appeared to spring.

In examining the south-western coast of Australia, Vancouver preceded D'Entrecasteaux, but did not advance quite so far to the eastward, nor make himself acquainted with the cluster of islands which bear the name of the Recherche. Being not less ignorant than the French navigator respecting the channel which divides New Holland from Van Diemen's Land, he directed his course in nearly a straight line from King George's Sound to Dusky Bay in New Zealand, passing at some distance southward the former island. Although the captain of the Discovery had been on this coast with Cook in the year 1773, he found it necessary to survey the shores with some attention, more especially the approach to Facile Harbour, and the whole northern bosom of the bay, which the great English seaman could not thoroughly investigate. The pains bestowed by the officers of both ships on the present occasion were rewarded by

some discoveries which, though not of much importance in themselves, must be highly valued by the numerous merchantmen who every season frequent that stormy sea, when trading between our rising colonies in the Southern Pacific. The harbours in Dusky Bay were described by Captain Cook himself as "numerous, safe, and convenient;" and it was now ascertained that while refreshments can be had in abundance, the climate is extremely salubrious. It is not concealed that the higher latitudes of New Zealand are exposed to occasional bursts of tempestuous weather, and that the north wind sometimes blows with incredible fury. Such gales, too, even when summer has made a considerable advance, are followed by falls of snow, which cover the surrounding mountains down to the edge of the valleys. Vancouver and his followers witnessed a storm of this nature in 1791; and in reference to it he remarks that, though it was his fifth visit to the southern island, he had never before to contend with so violent a tempest. But it occurred to him that, if such showers of snow happened frequently, vegetation must be severely checked, and that the productions of the soil would not be found to flourish, as they certainly do, in a most luxuriant manner. A few days' fine weather soon removed the greater part of the snow; and that which remained on the high, distant, barren mountains, which for some days had been entirely free from clouds, was observed to be greatly diminished.*

From New Zealand the expedition, whose ultimate object was the coast of north-western America, set sail for Otaheite, the two commanders having agreed, in case of separation, to meet in Matavai Bay. On the 24th November, much to the astonishment of every one on board the Discovery, land was seen in a south-easterly direction, and, when approaching nearer to it, they

* Voyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean and round the World, &c. vol. i. p. 67. It was the month of November when Vancouver was in Dusky Bay; a season of the year which in the southern hemisphere corresponds, it is well known, to June in the northern.

observed the waves breaking on its shores with great violence. At length it was ascertained to consist of seven rocky islands, extending to about six miles from north-east to south-west. It was at first matter of surprise that they had escaped the watchful eye of Captain Cook, but, upon examining his charts, it was found that he had not at any time passed within ten leagues of them. The discoverer named them the "Snares," because, both from their situation and the sort of weather likely to be experienced in their vicinity, they can hardly fail to draw unguarded mariners into great difficulties.

On the 22d of December, when on his progress towards the north, Vancouver again perceived land where it was not expected, having the appearance of three small islands, one of which greatly resembled a ship under sail. Being considerably distant from the track of former navigators, some curiosity was excited as to its name, inhabitants, and geological properties; and accordingly, though at the expense of a little delay, he resolved to approach the group. Several canoes were noticed advancing from a cove, filled with natives, who invited the strangers to go nearer the coast, with the view, it might be, of establishing a more friendly intercourse, or perhaps of enriching themselves with plunder. At length one of them was induced to go on board the Discovery, who no sooner found himself on deck than he trembled as if under the deepest apprehension: fear, astonishment, and admiration seized his mind at the same moment; and though on receiving some presents his countenance became more serene and cheerful, he still appeared to suffer from intense anxiety. His reception, however, as well as the gifts lavished upon him by the foreigners, encouraged several others to mount the sides of the ship; and the crew had soon as many visiters as it was convenient to entertain. They all seemed perfectly acquainted with the uses to which they could apply iron, and how to estimate its comparative value, both according to their own scale of prices

and that of Europeans. Two or three remained on board nearly an hour; but so unfixed and unsteady was their attention, that it was impossible to obtain any intelligence either respecting themselves or the group to which their families belonged. At length, indeed, it was gathered from their replies that the name of their island was Oparo, the chief of which, whose authority they all seemed to acknowledge, was called Korie. In short, it is one of the Austral cluster, now rendered familiar by the visits of more recent voyagers, as well as by the investigations of the several orders of missionaries, who have introduced among the natives the seeds of useful knowledge and of the true faith.

Oparo, when viewed from the sea, exhibited the aspect of a great mass of rocks rising to a considerable height, and forming in several places most romantic pinnacles, with perpendicular cliffs from their summits to the beach. The vacancies between the mountains resembled chasms rather than valleys, crowded with shrubs, but without any appearance of cultivation. Neither the plantain nor any other of those spontaneous productions common to the inhabited islands of the Pacific presented themselves. The arts which minister to comfort and improvement seemed indeed every where unknown; while the genius of the savage appeared to have exhausted its powers in fabricating bows, spears, and canoes, or in constructing houses of defence against the inroad of an enemy. On the highest hills there were fortified places resembling redoubts, having in the centre of each a small barrack, with rows of pallisades down the sides of the declivity, planted nearly at equal distances. These, which were obviously intended for advanced works, were capable, in the hands of a few resolute warriors, of defending the citadel against a numerous host of assailants. On all of them persons were seen walking about like sentinels, as if employed on a constant and regulated duty; an arrangement so far superior to the usual habits of military life among a rude people, as to excite some degree of scepticism in

regard to the strict accuracy of the details with which the navigator supplies us.

The Chatham, which had separated from the Discovery soon after their departure from New Zealand, discovered a small group, the principal islet of which continues to bear her name. They are situated in latitude 44° S., and longitude 176° W. About the end of December, the two ships met at Otaheite, when Vancouver had the mortification to find that most of the friends whom he had left there in 1777 were dead. Otoo, now called Pomare, had retired to Eimeo, leaving his eldest son in the larger island, possessed of the sovereign power as well as the royal name. The young monarch, whose age did not exceed ten years, consented to meet the strangers, having arrived on the shoulders of a man, whose duty it was to carry him, in order to prevent the inconvenience which arises from the contact of his sacred feet with any property not already devoted to the use of the reigning prince. Etiquette requires that until the introduction shall have been completed, the King of the Society Isles must assume a cool, indifferent, nay, a stern expression of countenance; and the boy performed this part of the ceremony with great command of feature. But no sooner was the ratification of mutual friendship completed than his looks became cheerful, and he received the English deputation with the utmost cordiality. Each of them was presented with a quantity of cloth, a large hog, and some vegetables; the natives meanwhile manifesting an instant compliance with all their wishes, and the utmost eagerness to perform every little office of civility.

On the 2d January 1792, Pomare arrived from Eimeo; and going on board the Discovery, he showed a perfect recollection of the commander, indicating, at the same time, the sincerest happiness at their meeting. "He frequently observed," says the latter, "that I had grown very much, and looked very old since last we had parted." Among the chiefs who visited the English crews, was Poeno of Matavai, who brought with him a

portrait of Captain Cook, drawn by Mr Webber in the year 1777. This picture is always exhibited in the house of the governor of that district, and is become the public register. On the back of it was written that the Pandora had left this island on the eighth day of May 1791. It is known to every reader that Captain Edwards, in the vessel just named, had sailed from England a few months before Vancouver, in search of the mutineers who had risen against Lieutenant Bligh of the Bounty, and finding thirteen of the unfortunate criminals at Otaheite, he carried them home for trial. It is somewhat singular that this fact should have been recorded on the same paper which represented the likeness of the renowned seaman who first conveyed to the civilized world an intimate acquaintance with this interesting archipelago.

The historian of this voyage mentions an incident, without seeming to be aware of its importance, though closely connected with the superstitions of the South Sea. When a number of the royal family honoured the captains with their company at dinner, the wives of Pomare and Mahow were permitted to sit at table, and partake of the repast. It is added, indeed, that this indulgence is by no means common, and granted perhaps to no other women on the island. But we know that at a later period, such a freedom would have disturbed the equanimity of all the priests in the Society group, and led, it is probable, to a general insurrection. The aged chief, it is true, was not very rigid either in his opinions or his practice. "Our attention," says the commander of the Discovery, "was particularly attracted by the great desire which the generality of them, both male and female, exhibited, in their endeavours to adopt our manners and customs, and the avidity with which they sought spirituous liquors. Pomare, in the course of dinner and afterwards, drank a bottle of brandy without diluting it; an excess which ended in violent convulsions. It was in vain to expostulate with him on the ground that inebriety was highly per-

nicious, and must affect his health. In return to such remonstrances, he insinuated that the captain was a stingy fellow, and wished to save his drink; nor was it until experience convinced him of the danger he incurred by such indulgences, that he was brought to acknowledge all he had heard of the British 'ava' was quite true."

The grandfather of the reigning prince, formerly known to the English under the name of Happi, at length made his appearance on the scene, chiefly with the view of paying his respects to the subaltern of the great Cook. It may be necessary at this stage to mention that, in the Society Islands, it is customary for the sovereign to resign the supreme power the moment that his eldest son is born; after which period, the father acts only as regent in the name and behalf of his successor. On the occasion now alluded to, the venerable Happi proceeded to perform an act of homage to his grandson, in whose person were concentrated all the dignity, honour, and divine right, which belonged to the royal house of Otaheite. It being announced that Otoo was approaching, the old man, having procured a pig and a plantain leaf, stripped himself to the waist, and advanced on tottering limbs to meet the child. Acknowledging his own inferiority, he presented on his knees the two tokens of his submission, uniting with this emblematical offering a mixture of profound respect and parental regard. This ceremony, though affecting to those who witnessed it, seemed to produce little impression on the young ruler, who appeared to notice the humble attitude of his grandsire with the most perfect indifference; his demeanour being regulated according to those fantastic notions which identify unconcern with high feeling, and associate the possession of rank with an absence of all the tender emotions incident to human nature.

The death of Mahow supplied an opportunity for witnessing on a large scale the funeral ceremonies which distinguished the ritual of the South Sea before Chris-

tianity was introduced among the natives. One of the principal parts consisted in the embalming of the body, which was performed in great secrecy, and with much religious veneration. The priests taught that the bowels are the immediate organ of sensation, where all impressions are first received, and by means of which all the functions of the soul are carried on; and hence they maintained, as a first principle in the philosophy of mind, that the intestines bear the greatest affinity to the immortal part of man. The officers, who occasionally entered into conversation with the leading persons at Matavai, endeavoured to convince them that all intellectual operations took place in the head. They usually answered with a smile of incredulity, remarking that they had often seen men recover whose skulls had been fractured, and whose heads had been otherwise much injured; but that in all cases where the intestines were wounded, the patient died whatever means might be used to restore health. Other arguments they also advanced in support of their belief, especially the effect of fear or any violent passion, which caused great agitation in the heart and even in the stomach. The reader must have anticipated the observation, that in these views they shared a belief very common in the western parts of Asia, and of which we find some traces in the sacred writings.

From the Southern Pacific, where the necessity of extensive repairs detained him longer than he had intended, Vancouver proceeded about the end of January to the Sandwich Islands, whence he expected a favourable run to the coast of America. We shall at once accompany him to the shores of New Albion, deeming it more convenient to condense the observations made by him during his repeated visits to the dominions of Tamehameha, than to state them in a separate and unconnected form. With reference to his duty on the verge of the great continent towards which his course was now turned, it may be mentioned as a singular coincidence that, when approaching the entrance which

forms the imaginary Strait of De Fuca, he met Captain Gray, who formerly commanded the sloop Washington, and was said, when in charge of that vessel, to have made a remarkable voyage behind Nootka. He frankly communicated to the English officers the amount of his supposed discovery; and it was soon found that his narrative differed very materially from that published in London. He was exceedingly astonished on being informed that his authority had been quoted, not only for the existence of an inland sea connecting the Pacific with Hudson's Bay, but that he had actually sailed through it. In contradiction to a statement at once improbable in itself, and altogether groundless so far as his relation was concerned, he assured them that he had penetrated only fifty miles into the strait in question; that he found the passage five leagues wide; that he understood from the natives the opening extended a considerable distance to the northward; and that he returned into the ocean by the same way he had left it. He indeed supposed that the inlet was the same which is usually associated with the name of De Fuca; an opinion universally held by all navigators who had examined the coast. He likewise mentioned that he had been at the mouth of a river in lat. 46° 10′ N., where the current, or perhaps reflux of the tide, was so strong as to prevent his entering it for nine days. There was also, he said, another inlet to the northward, in lat. 54° 30′, in which he had sailed more than a hundred miles without discovering its termination. His statement was concluded by an assurance that the southern point of De Fuca's channel is in lat. 48° 24′, and that their distance from it did not exceed eight leagues.

On a nearer approach Vancouver recognised an island and a headland that had attracted the notice of Captain Cook, to the latter of which, owing to the deceitful promise of a safe harbour, he gave the name of Cape Flattery. Upon entering the bay, they observed that the shores on each side had such an ambiguous appearance as to indicate either continuous land or a cluster

of islands. A favourable wind promised a speedy termination to the survey; for, in proportion as the ships advanced, the hills, rising higher in the horizon, seemed to close the prospect without any perceptible vacancy through which the famous strait might extend. Every new appearance furnished a subject for fresh conjectures; the whole was not visibly connected; it might form a succession of islands separated by large arms of the sea, or be united by intervening ground not sufficiently elevated to meet the eye from the deck of a sloop. But after advancing farther than Mr Gray the American skipper, or any other person from the civilized world, proofs were gradually supplied, that the tradition founded on the researches of the Greek pilot De Fuca, as well as on those of the Spanish admiral De Fonte, had no basis in fact; in a word, that the North American continent is not divided by an inland sea stretching from its western to its eastern boundary.

The disappointment of the navigators, if any could be occasioned by their not finding what they did not expect, was amply compensated by their entrance into a fine harbour, which they named Port Discovery. The surrounding country, too, was exceedingly beautiful, some parts of it being not inferior to the most highly decorated pleasure-grounds in Europe. On one hand was an extensive lawn covered with luxuriant grass, and diversified with an abundance of flowers; while, on the other, was a coppice of pine-trees and shrubs of various sorts, which seemed as if planted for the sole purpose of protecting from the north wind this delightful meadow, and could not have been more agreeably arranged by the most accomplished artist. While stopping to contemplate these striking features in the natural landscape, which to the eyes of men long used to the monotony of the ocean were exceedingly pleasing, they observed both gooseberries and roses in a state of considerable forwardness. Nothing seemed wanting but fresh water to make Port Discovery one of the most desirable in the world; and it fortunately happened that, in the course

of their researches for this purpose, they came upon an excellent stream, the supply afforded by which was equal to the accommodation of a large squadron.

In the neighbourhood a phenomenon somewhat singular presented itself, of which they had no means of obtaining an explanation. On one of the low points, projecting from the shore, were observed two upright poles set in the ground about fifteen feet high, and rudely carved. On the top of each was stuck a human head, the hair and flesh being nearly entire; and they appeared to bear the evidence of fury or revenge, as in driving the flakes through the throat to the cranium, the sagittal with part of the scalp was borne on their points some inches above the rest of the surface. Between the stakes a fire had been made, and near it some calcined bones were observed; but none of these appearances led to any certain conclusion as to the manner in which the bodies themselves had been treated. It is farther related, that in the vicinity of the port, human skulls, ribs, and back-bones were found scattered about in great numbers. Some of these remains of mortality were preserved in a very singular manner. Canoes were suspended between trees, at the height of about twelve feet from the ground, in which were the skeletons of two or three persons, accompanied by the fragments of bows and arrows. Baskets were also seen hung on high branches, containing each the bones of a child, near which were usually some small boxes filled with a kind of white paste, such as the natives were frequently observed to eat.

It would be unjust to the character of the inhabitants, who manifested no symptoms of a ferocious nature, to infer from the appearances now mentioned that they are addicted to the horrid practice of cannibalism, though, it is certain, the notion of eating human flesh was familiar to their minds. On one occasion, about a dozen of them were present at a dinner, where, among other viands, the officers had provided a venison pasty. They ate of the bread and fish which were

given them without the least hesitation; but, on being offered some of the meat, though they saw the Englishmen eat it with great relish, they could not be induced to partake. They received it with undissembled aversion, subjected it to a strict examination, and either returned the morsel or laid it aside. There is no doubt, in short, that they believed it to be part of a human body; an impression which it was extremely difficult to remove. To satisfy them that it was the flesh of the deer, the gentlemen pointed to the skins of the animal which they themselves wore; but in reply they pointed to each other, and made signs not to be misunderstood, that it was human flesh, and at length threw it away with gestures of great displeasure. Such barbarities, it is obvious, must have been perpetrated by some of the tribes on the coast of North-western America; though the feelings displayed in the present instance may be held to exonerate at least one family of the race from this frightful imputation. Vancouver acts the part of a generous advocate in their behalf, and remarks that, as their affinity to the inhabitants of Nootka, as well as of the people still further south, is clearly established, it is but charitable to suppose the latter are equally free from the detestable custom of eating their fellow-creatures. He admits at the same time, that they are not strangers to the general weakness attendant on savage life. "One of them having taken a knife and fork, to imitate our manner of eating, found means to secrete them under his garment; but on his being detected, gave up his plunder with the utmost good humour and unconcern."

The discovery and examination of Admiralty Inlet were attended with circumstances extremely interesting to the navigator, who, though he found not an entrance to any inland sea, made known a variety of sounds which have since proved of great convenience to ships engaged in trade, and will, at no distant day, become the scene of agricultural wealth, commerce, and civilisation. Like the country contiguous to Port Discovery, the

shores of the bay presented a delightful prospect, consisting chiefly of spacious meadows adorned with clumps of trees, amongst which some fine oaks bore a considerable proportion. In these beautiful pastures, bordering on an extensive sheet of water, deer were seen playing about in great numbers. Nature had here provided a well-stocked park, and wanted only the assistance of an improved taste to combine in a somewhat more attractive arrangement the elements of the picturesque which she so lavishly supplied.

On the 4th June 1792, the anniversary of the king's birth, the captain took formal possession of all the countries he had explored, in the name of his Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors. For this purpose he went on shore at one o'clock, and pursuing the formalities usual on such occasions, accompanied with a royal salute from both vessels, he consigned to the protection of the English crown all the coast from that part of New Albion, in latitude 39° 20′ N., and long. 123° 34′ W., to the entrance of the supposed straits of Juan de Fuca, as likewise all the coasts and islands within the said straits. This interior sea he called the Gulf of Georgia; and the continent, bounding the gulf and extending to the forty-fifth degree of north latitude, he called New Georgia, in honour of the reigning monarch.

A short time after this ceremony took place, the discoverers fell in with two Spanish vessels, a brig and a schooner, which were employed in a duty similar to their own. Don Galiano, who commanded this little armament, informed them that Melaspina, the governor of the Philippine Isles, had visited these shores the preceding year; that it was under his direction they themselves had sailed, with instructions to survey the coast in the neighbourhood of De Fuca's Straits; and that they had recently left Nootka, where preparations were making to resign the whole settlement to the English. Upon their producing the chart, founded upon the researches of the former season, Vancouver was not a little mortified to find that the external borders of the

Gulf of Georgia had been already examined; that the Spanish officers had thrown light on some points concerning which he was still in darkness; and, moreover, that they had refitted in the identical port which he named after his own ship, supposing that no European had previously entered it. But, notwithstanding this information, calculated in some degree to cool his zeal, he occupied the greater part of the summer in penetrating the various inlets which branch off from the main channel, and at length returned into the Pacific by the northern extremity of the great island whereon Nootka is situated, and which had theretofore been considered a portion of the American continent. In the older maps it is described as the Waksah nation; and in those of a more modern date it is called Quadra and Vancouver Island. The English captain commemorated the discovery of the northern passage by connecting it with the name of Johnstone, the officer who first made it known; but in these days, the whole of the upper portion of the gulf is commonly indicated on charts as Queen Charlotte's Sound.

On their arrival at Nootka, our navigators found that the demands of diplomacy had not been perfectly satisfied by the correspondence which passed between the cabinets of London and Madrid. It appears that the governor, Quadra, who was appointed to the superintendence of the colony in the preceding month of April, had commissioned all the vessels under his command to inspect the coast, in order that the proper limits to be proposed in the restitution of the territory might be ascertained, and also that the several officers might inform themselves in reference to the various circumstances which preceded the capture of the two British merchantmen in the year 1789. Fortified by the intelligence thus obtained, the Spanish deputy thought himself entitled to conclude that his country had nothing to relinquish, and no compensation to make to England; but nevertheless he declared that, as he was desirous of removing every obstacle to the establishment

of a solid and permanent peace, he was ready, "without prejudice to the legitimate rights of his sovereign," to cede the houses, offices, and gardens, which had been prepared at a great expense, and retire to the northern extremity of the island.

The first article of the convention between the ministers of the two courts provided that Great Britain should be put in possession of all the "buildings and districts, or parcels of land, which were occupied by the subjects of his Majesty in April 1789, as well in the port of Nootka or St Lawrence, as in the other, said to be called Port Cox." And it was also agreed that, "as well in the places which are to be restored to the British subjects, as in all other parts of the north-western coast of America situated to the north of the ports of the said coast already occupied by Spain, wherever the subjects of either of the two powers have made settlements since April 1789, any of the subjects of the other shall have free access, and shall carry on their trade without disturbance or molestation." But Quadra maintained that, in April 1789, the English had only a small hut, and a spot of ground extending not more than a hundred yards in any direction; wherefore he was only willing to restore the ruins of the cottage, and to permit our flag to be hoisted on the small parcel of land which alone he asserted had ever been owned by a subject of his Britannic Majesty.

It fortunately happened that, while this discussion engaged the attention of Vancouver and exercised the ingenuity of the Spanish diplomatist, a Portuguese vessel arrived at Nootka, having on board, in the capacity of supercargo, a gentleman who had been there with Mr Meares in 1788. He deponed upon oath, that in the month of May the master just mentioned, accompanied by himself and Mr Robert Funter, went on shore, and bought of the two chiefs, Maquila and Calicum, the whole of the land which forms Friendly Cove, in the name of King George, for eight or ten sheets of copper and some other articles; that the natives were perfectly

satisfied, and, with the chiefs, did homage to Mr Meares as sovereign, according to the custom of their country; that the British flag was displayed on shore while these formalities took place between the parties; that Mr Meares caused a house to be erected on the spot most convenient for his purpose; that the leaders and people offered to quit their residence and retire to Tahsheis, a place on the straits, and, consequently, the English were not restricted to any portion of the land they had purchased, but might, had they been inclined, have built dwellings in any section of the cove; that Mr Meares appointed Mr Robert Funter to reside in the house, which consisted of three bedchambers, with a mess-room for the officers, and proper apartments for the men; that, exclusive of this edifice, there were several sheds for the convenience of the artificers, and that Mr Meares left them all in good order, enjoining Maquila to take proper care of them until he or some of his associates should return. The informant added that he was not at Nootka when Don Martinez arrived, but that on his return thither, in July 1789, he found the cove occupied by the subjects of his Catholic Majesty; that he then saw no remains of Mr Meares' house; and that on the second day after the two English vessels put into the port, they were captured by the Spanish governor, while certain Americans were allowed to carry on their traffic unmolested.*

No doubt could remain as to the claims made by the British, nor in regard to the inaccuracy of the information on which the Spanish envoy thought it his duty to act. On due consideration, therefore, Vancouver refused

* Vancouver's Voyage, vol. i. pp. 407, 408. In reference to the proceedings of Martinez, who captured the English merchantmen and expelled the settlers at Nootka, the native chief Maquiana (called by the Spaniards Maquila) asserted that the governor "went on shore with a number of armed people, and obliged him by threats to make cession of Nootka to the King of Spain." It is admitted, at the same time, that little reliance can be placed on such declarations, as the inhabitants of the North American coast, like most other savages, are more desirous to please their auditors than to adhere to a simple narrative of facts.

to accept the limited cession proposed by Quadra; being satisfied that it ought to include the whole port of Nootka, of which our traders had been forcibly dispossessed, and at which themselves, their vessels, and cargoes had been forcibly seized. It was thereupon mutually agreed to refer once more the points under discussion to the supreme authorities in Europe; and, in pursuance of this object, the captain of the Discovery sent his first lieutenant, Mr Mudge, with despatches to England, having procured a passage for him on board a ship bound to China.

Upon leaving New Georgia the expedition sailed along the coast in a southerly direction, examining minutely, as they proceeded, every inlet and headland which diversified the outline of the province to which had been given the name of New Albion. On the 14th November, they reached Port St Francisco, where the Spaniards maintained a principal station both military and ecclesiastical. Vancouver was received with the respect and attention due to his country, which were not the less heartily bestowed by the governor who, in regard to Nootka, had disappointed the hope of his visiter, and thereby thwarted for a time the main object of his voyage round the greater portion of the globe. "The well-known generosity of my other Spanish friends will, I trust, pardon the warmth of expression with which I must ever advert to the conduct of Senior Quadra; who, regardless of the difference in opinion that had arisen between us in our diplomatic capacities at Nootka, had uniformly maintained towards us a character infinitely beyond the reach of my powers of encomium to describe. His benevolence was not confined to the common rites of hospitality, but was extended to all occasions, and exercised in every instance where his Majesty's service, combined with my commission, was in the least concerned."*

Both at Francisco and Monterey our countrymen

* Volume ii. p. 46.

indulged their curiosity in inquiries respecting the state of the missions, the character of the priesthood, and the condition of the people. In regard to the first it is remarked by them, that instead of finding a country tolerably well inhabited and far advanced in cultivation, there was not, except the flocks of sheep and herds of cattle, an object which could indicate the most remote connexion with any European nation or civilized community. It is admitted on all hands that the dispositions of the religious Orders who have undertaken the instruction of the people are mild and kind-hearted in the highest degree, and that, as might be expected, the natives are generally much attached to them, having a due regard to the many advantages, secular as well as spiritual, which they have derived from their labours. But, nevertheless, the latter seem to treat with too much indifference the example of industry placed before them by their benevolent pastors, whose object has ever been to allure them from an idle life by showing how numerous are the comforts within the reach of a moderate exertion applied to a fine soil under a propitious sky. Deaf to the important lessons, and regardless of the promised benefit, they still chose to remain in the most abject state of barbarism; and excepting the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, and the aborigines of Van Diemen's Land, they appeared a race of the most miserable beings that ever possessed the human form and the elements of reason. Their persons, generally speaking, were under the middle size; their faces ugly, presenting a dull, heavy, and stupid countenance, devoid of sensibility and expression. One of their greatest aversions was cleanliness, both in their bodies and habitations; the latter having undergone no improvement since the days of their forefathers. Their passions are indeed calm; even the affections are nearly stagnant; and, regardless of reputation as men, or of renown as a people, they are never stimulated either to the obtaining of consequence amongst themselves by any peaceful arts, or superiority over their neighbours by warlike achievements; a speci-

of ambition not uncommon among the more spirited of the Indian tribes.

At the time the captain moved towards the Spanish settlements, Mr Broughton, in command of the Chatham, proceeded to examine the Columbia river, known also as the Oregon; the lands on the banks of which have now attained such a degree of importance as to secure the attention of rulers both in the eastern and western hemispheres. The lieutenant ascended the stream about a hundred miles, ascertaining its depth, the number and direction of its tributaries, and the qualities of the country through which it flows. Beyond this point however the Columbia could not be pronounced navigable for shipping; and, finding his provisions nearly exhausted, he resolved to return to his sloop, left near the mouth of the inlet or estuary where the current mixes with the ocean. But previously to his departure from Point Vancouver, which marked the termination of his inland voyage, he formally took possession of the river and the contiguous districts in the name of his sovereign; having every reason to believe that the subjects of no other civilized state had ever entered it before. He had learned from a chief, to whose friendship and sagacity he was under considerable obligations, that the source of the main branch of the Oregon was still at a very considerable distance, but that a succession of falls rendered it impassable even in boats.

For the convenience of the discoverers the Admiralty had fitted out a small vessel called the Dædalus, to convey to them on the American coast a supply of stores and provisions. Lieutenant Hergest, to whose charge she was intrusted, sailed from New Georgia to the Marquesas, and thence to the Sandwich Islands; in the course of which voyage he discovered the small group which bears his name, as also the larger isle called Noukahiva or Sir Henry Martin. They are situated between the seventh and ninth degrees of south latitude, and about one degree westward from the principal member of the Mendana archipelago. In the chart

supplied by the editor of Vancouver, the islands seen by Hergest are distinguished as Martin's, Trevenen's, and Riou's. In the first is a very fine harbour, extending deeply into the interior, and bounded by a most delightful country. It was named Port Anna Maria; was found to be of very easy access, the depth at its entrance being twenty-four fathoms; and an excellent stream of pure water flows into it, which gives it every advantage that could be desired. The land seemed to be highly cultivated, and the inhabitants, who were numerous, disposed to supply whatever refreshments their soil produced. A variety of smaller spots were seen, scarcely elevated above the surface of the sea; the position of which has been carefully defined, rather that they may be avoided than sought for in the solitary movements of the navigator through those tropical regions. The discoverer was soon doomed to meet a melancholy fate; for having landed at Woahoo with Mr Gooch the astronomer, he was attacked by the natives, when both he and his friend were murdered.*

The summer of 1793 was spent in examining the American coast from the fifty-second to the fifty-seventh degree of north latitude; the greater part of which consists of islands divided by narrow sounds and leading to numerous inlets. Some of these openings penetrate the land to a great extent, and present such a vast variety of ramifications that it is occasionally very difficult to determine which is the principal artery whence the others are derived. As the water was too shallow to admit either the brig or sloop, the investigations were usually performed in boats, supplied with provisions for eight or ten days according to circumstances. In the month of July, an extensive excursion was planned

* Vancouver's Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 97. Some writers are disposed to refuse to Lieutenant Hergest the honour of discovering the islands mentioned in the text, alleging that they had been seen by certain American traders who had even landed upon them. But it is manifest that neither Mendana, the discoverer of the Marquesas, nor Captain Cook, who afterwards visited them, had any knowledge of Sir Henry Martin's, Riou's, or Trevenen's.

under the personal superintendence of Vancouver himself, who was induced to engage in this minor expedition by the desire to determine whether one of the sounds, not far from the parallel usually assigned to the Straits of Admiral Fuentes, might not send forth an arm towards the Arctic Ocean.

Leaving Observatory Inlet on the 24th of the month just specified, they steered their course in a north-easterly direction till they reached the latitude of 55° 32′ N. The inhabitants, who afterwards attacked the party, now made their appearance, and approached the boats with little hesitation. The captain remarks that in their countenances was expressed a degree of savage ferocity infinitely surpassing any thing he had ever before observed in the various tribes with whom he had come in contact. Many of those formerly seen had their faces painted in a manner sufficiently grotesque; but these had contrived so to dispose of the red, white, and black, as to render their natural ugliness more horribly disgusting. Nor did this frightful disguise seem to be a new fashion among them; it appeared to have been long adopted, as corresponding at once to their cruel dispositions and to the stern deportment they took so much pains to exhibit. Their weapons, too, seemed well adapted to their warlike propensities. The spears, about sixteen feet long, were pointed with iron, and some of them barbed; the bows were well constructed, and abundantly supplied with sharp arrows; and each man was provided with a dagger, suspended from his neck in a leathern sheath. Their dress, when prepared for battle, was formed of several folds of the strongest hides they could procure. In the centre was a hole large enough to admit the passage of the head and left arm, the weight of the garment being entirely suspended on the right shoulder; and as a farther security, on the inside of the part which covers the breast they occasionally fixed thin laths of wood. Confident in their means of attack as well as of defence, they made an assault upon the boats, though without success, the suspicion of

the crews having been excited by their intrusive behaviour and hostile demonstrations. Two of the seamen were wounded; but the loss on the part of the natives was not ascertained. Some of them were seen to fall as if killed or severely hurt; and great lamentations were heard after they gained their retreat in an adjoining wood, whence they showed no disposition to return either for war or commerce.

By the aid of a Spanish chart, Vancouver had no difficulty in ascertaining that an extensive opening, in which he found himself on the 13th August 1793, was the Strait of Fuentes; although, as he observes, the delineation made by Senior Caamano did not bear any very strong resemblance to the regions which now stretched out before him. In point of fact, the celebrated strait of the admiral whose name it still bears was found to be nothing more than one of the channels which separate the island of Revillagigedo from the American continent.

Proceeding still towards the north, the navigators surveyed with great minuteness not only the whole of the exterior coast, but also every inlet which afforded any prospect of a passage either into the body of the mainland or into the Northern Ocean. At length the month of September drew near a close, when the long nights and stormy weather incident to a high latitude suggested to the commanding officer the expediency of again steering his course into a more genial climate. He was not, indeed, satisfied with the limits to which his investigations had been confined during the summer, though he could reflect with pleasure on the triumph he had gained over ignorance and prejudice by proving the fallacy of the pretended discoveries said to have been made by De Fuca and De Fonte, more commonly called Fuentes. He reminds his reader, too, that his researches were not carried on in a continued or direct line, but through part of an extensive and hitherto unexplored region, bounded on the east by the continent, and on the west by the ocean.

After a brief stay at Nootka, the expedition sailed for the coast of New Albion, the southern parts of which had not yet been examined with due care. When at anchor in Port Francisco, where he expected to find a supply of wood and water, a message from the governor, cold and formal, indicated to the captain of the Discovery that the sentiments of the Spanish government had undergone an unfavourable change in regard to our countrymen. Vancouver considered the restrictions thereby imposed upon him as at once so ungracious and degrading as to amount to little less than an indirect refusal. He was at the same time left in the greatest perplexity to account for a reception so totally different from what he experienced on a former occasion, and so contrary to what he had been taught to expect by the letters he had received from the Viceroy of New Spain, in return to his expression of thanks for the great civilities conferred upon him in the foregoing year. It afterwards transpired that a captain in the Spanish infantry, named Arrillaga, had arrived from Monterey in the course of the preceding spring; and being the senior officer, had taken upon himself the jurisdiction of the province, with sentiments apparently not the most favourable towards the subjects of Great Britain. The same spirit, too, continued during the whole period that our navigators passed on the American coast; arising, there is no doubt, from a jealous feeling in regard to their object, as well, perhaps, as from the unsettled state of the negotiation respecting Nootka Sound.

The remainder of the season was spent in examining the shores of New Albion, a part of the continent discovered or visited by Sir Francis Drake, and therefore held in some degree as the property of Great Britain. A brief account is accordingly given of the missions at Bueno Ventura, Santa Barbara, as also of the Presidios of St Diego, St Loretto, and St Joseph. The report is by no means favourable either to the wisdom or the activity of the Spaniards. The mode adopted in settling the country, and the system ever since pursued, have

been very little calculated to produce any considerable increase of white inhabitants; for, both at the religious and military establishments, they lead a very indolent life, the monks in their cloisters, the soldiers in their barracks. These last do nothing, in the most literal sense of the expression; they neither plough, sow, nor reap, but depend wholly upon the labour of the people at the missions for the commonest necessaries of life. To support their consequence in the eyes of the natives, it was deemed highly improper that the servants of the crown should be subjected to any laborious employment; and therefore on no occasion are they seen to lay aside the sword and assume the tools of the agriculturist or vine-dresser. The number of converts to the christian faith in New Albion, and throughout the peninsula of California, was estimated, at the period in question, to amount to about twenty thousand, being nearly one-eighth of the whole population. Here, too, as in the more northern districts, their progress towards civilisation was very slow, having no motive to awaken their energies, and no object on which to exert that spirit of enterprise which is seldom extinct in any human breast. They have no trade; no manufactures to exchange for the commodities of distant countries; no desire for enjoyments of which they have never heard; and no longing of the imagination for those luxuries, mental or corporeal, which, in more improved parts of the world, tempt the desires of even the lowest class of the people. In the whole of north-western America, there were then no towns where affluence might give birth to taste, and whose inhabitants, by diffusing a knowledge of the fine arts and displaying the dignity of social intercourse when exalted by literature, might have transplanted into those retired settlements the ambition and elegance of Paris, Madrid, or London.

After wintering again in the Sandwich Islands, the adventurers, on the 15th March 1794, proceeded once more to the shores of America, which they reached in the latitude of 56° 30′ N. This part of the coast had

been visited by Captain Cook, whose name is still connected with an opening which he was induced to pronounce a river, but which was now proved by an actual survey to be nothing more than an arm of the sea. To remove all doubt on this head, the commander placed himself at the head of a party who proceeded in boats till they saw the opposite banks meet together, the sound terminating in a circular form, and enclosed by banks of sand. To the northward, round by the east and towards the south-east, the nearer mountains, though of a height inferior to those in the west, were capped with snow, and appeared to constitute an uninterrupted barrier; the plains descending from which seemed, by their apparent uniformity, to afford good ground for concluding that they were not any where intersected by lakes or great streams. The water in the inlet still retaining, though at a considerable distance from the ocean, the usual degree of saltness, clearly proved that neither by falls, flats, marshes, nor fens, any large body of fresh found its way to the sea by this communication, and consequently, that this could not, according to the established import of geographical terms, be any longer considered a river. Had Cook devoted one day more to an examination of it, he would, says his successor, "have spared the theoretical navigators, who have followed him in their closets, the task of ingeniously ascribing to this arm of the ocean a channel, through which a north-west passage, existing according to their doctrines, might ultimately be discovered." The northern limit of this opening, now known throughout the world as Cook's Inlet, was ascertained to be in latitude 61° 29′ N., and in longitude 148° 43′ W.*

The next object of investigation was Prince William's Sound, which, although not unknown to European seamen, and even occupied by a Russian colony, had never been accurately surveyed by scientific dis-

* Vancouver's Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World, vol. *iii. p. 125.*

coverers. The details of such a research, however, are greatly too minute to be either intelligible or interesting to an unprofessional reader. It is not unworthy of notice, perhaps, that the natives in those dreary regions, where winter seems to govern the elements throughout the whole year, are at once more industrious and less savage than those in the balmy climates of the south. On one occasion about four hundred of them surrounded the English ships, in canoes made of skin, each carrying only two men. Entering instantly into traffic, they willingly bartered away their hunting and fishing implements, which, together with some salmon and neatly formed models of their tiny vessels, constituted the chief articles of their commerce. The Russians who live among them are not less simple in their habits, having accustomed themselves to the same nauseous food, and to the same miserable huts, where the notion of cleanliness never enters, and whence the fresh air of the sky is rigorously excluded. By a treaty with Great Britain in 1825, all the territory westward from the one hundred and fortieth degree of longitude, reckoning from Greenwich, is secured to the Czar, who, in virtue of its conditions, exercises an undisputed sovereignty on either side of Behring's Strait, and divides with our colonists the occupation of those inhospitable mountains and swampy plains which compose the northern portion of the American continent.

Descending towards the south, the commander of the expedition, though suffering from impaired health, the effect of fatigue and constant change of climate, lost no opportunity to make himself intimately acquainted with the coast, its frequent islands, its numerous sinuosities, and its countless bays, channels, and openings. Of these Cross Sound was one of the most important, not only as a haven where ships may find protection, but also as a station where the trader will receive an equivalent for his Indian or European commodities. As this coast had been examined during the former season as high as the fifty-sixth degree of north latitude, little

remained to complete the duty on which Vancouver had been sent; and accordingly, upon reaching a harbour at no great distance from King George the Third's Archipelago, he named it Port Conclusion, in reference to the laborious task in which he had been engaged more than four years. From Cape Mendocino, in latitude 41°, he explored the whole seaboard as far as Cook's Inlet in 63°; being more than fifteen hundred miles in a straight line, and including a survey of more than three times that extent, made either in person or under the direction of his lieutenants. In the prosecution of this hazardous voyage, he never lost sight of the surf which dashed against the shore, nor failed to take the meridional altitude once or twice every day; noting as he went along, with minute accuracy, the position of the most conspicuous points. The result of his investigations, as it disappointed the theoretical views of some ingenious writers in regard to a north-eastern passage into the Atlantic, was at first received with unreasonable scepticism, and he had just reason to complain of the strictures directed against him by that numerous class of men who resolutely oppose every thing which does not coincide with their preconceived opinions. But such groundless hostility has long since ceased to employ its arms against the cause of truth; and subsequent navigators have fully established the correctness of all his conclusions relative to the favourite hypothesis of a navigable channel through the American continent.*

* We are here naturally reminded of the hypothesis of Meares, who, though he saw, comparatively speaking, very little of the coast, deemed himself entitled to indulge in speculation after the manner of his age. He imagined that the entire space from St George's Sound to Hudson's Bay and Davis' Strait, was occupied by an immense archipelago, through which there might be a passage from the Pacific into the Atlantic. "The channels of this archipelago were found to be wide and capacious, with nearly two hundred fathoms depth of water, and huge promontories stretching out into the sea, where whales and sea-otters were seen in incredible abundance. In some of these channels there are islands of ice which we may venture to say could never have been formed on the western side of America, which possesses a mild and moderate

Having accomplished the chief purpose of his mission, he resolved to return to England by way of Cape Horn, and accordingly bent his course southward along the coast. When at Monterey, he learned that the obstacles which had prevented the execution of the treaty respecting Nootka were quite removed, so far at least as the views of the two governments were concerned; but a letter from the Spanish minister was said to convey the intelligence, that a new commissioner had been appointed by the court of London to superintend the details of the cession, independently of any intercourse with the commander of the Discovery. This report, though it was not altogether in unison with the actual proceedings of the British cabinet, justified the resolution of Vancouver to hasten his voyage homewards. Yielding to the pressure of disease, by which his constitution was already very much debilitated, and to the entreaties of his friends in the colony, he accepted an invitation to make a short excursion into the interior. He there saw a very extraordinary mountain, which he describes with some minuteness, as not unworthy of attention on the part of a scientific reader. On one side it presented the appearance of a magnificent edifice fallen into decay; the columns, which looked as if they had been raised with much labour and industry, were of great magnitude, seemed to be of an elegant form, and to be composed of a beautiful cream-coloured stone. Between these vast columns were deep excavations, resembling different passages into the supposed building, the roof of which, being the summit of the mountain, appeared to be entirely sustained by these pillars, rising perpendicularly with the most minute mathematical exactness. Viewed as a whole, it exhibited to the eye at a little distance

climate; so that their existence cannot be reconciled to any other idea than that they received their existence in the eastern seas, and have been drifted by tides and currents through the passage for whose existence we are contending." See his Voyages, vol. ii. p. 242; and Progress of Discovery on the more Northern Coasts of America" (Edinburgh Cabinet Library), p. 132.

what might have been taken for a specimen of rare ingenuity combined with herculean exertion. The captain, contrasting the apparent structure with the rude condition and humble means of the native inhabitants, pronounced that it must be a work of nature not of art; though he considers it not preposterous to infer, that to similar phenomena may be traced the architectural knowledge by which man has been enabled to raise those massy fabrics which have stood for ages in all civilized countries. Every one must wish that the captain had pursued his researches to a greater extent; for, after the recent discoveries made in the interior of America, the existence of large buildings in a province now possessed by barbarians will not be pronounced altogether improbable.*

Supplying to his nautical readers some notices respecting the insular spots called the Three Marys, Cocos Island, and the Galapagos, the author describes his course through the tropical seas by Mas-afuera, Juan Fernandez, Valparaiso, St Jago, Cape Horn, St Helena, and announces his arrival in the Thames in October 1795. The remainder of his life was spent in preparing for the press a narrative of his voyage, which was at length, owing to his premature demise, ushered into public notice by his brother in 1798. To the last, he found it necessary to oppose or conciliate the opinions of certain geographers, who would not yield, even to the authority of an actual survey, their speculative notions touching the form of the northern section of America. He conceded so far as to remind his readers that, as the coast had not been examined to its remotest extremity, and that as the French navigators had placed the archipelago of St Lazarus in the 63d degree of north latitude, the opening in question might yet be found. He farther acknowledged that the stupendous barrier mountains do not seem to extend in so lofty and connected a range to the northward of the head of Cook's Inlet as to the

* See Incidents of Travel in Central America, Chiapas, and Yucatan. By John L. Stephens, 2 vols 8vo, London, 1842.

southward of the same station; and consequently it is possible that in this part the alpine chain may admit a communication with the eastern country. This conjecture, too, seemed to derive some probability from the fact that there appears a similarity in the race of people who inhabit the shores of Hudson's Bay, when compared with the natives of the north-western section of the continent. But he adds that, in all parts on which they landed, from California to the neighbourhood of the arctic circle, they nowhere found any roads or paths through the woods indicating an intercourse between the Indians and the inhabitants of the interior; nor were any articles usually imported or prepared by the Hudson's Bay traders ever found among the tribes whose dwellings stretch along the border of the Pacific Ocean. Suffice it to add, that more recent voyagers have completely established the conclusions here so modestly urged by Vancouver.

We purposely omitted to notice the occurrences which diversified his residence at the Sandwich Islands, during the summers he spent in the eastern hemisphere, under the conviction that they will be better understood when brought into view at once. It is well known that he was at Owhyhee with Captain Cook when the latter was assassinated, and also that he himself made a narrow escape from the hands of the murderers; but between the years 1778 and 1792, when he again touched at this group, as commander of the Discovery, he found that civilisation had advanced among the natives at a rapid pace. They had already made several voyages to distant parts of the world; and, enlightened by this experience, they became so sensible of the advantages of a mercantile navy, that they made repeated attempts to take possession of some vessels which bad weather or the demands of commerce had led into their harbours. At length they actually seized an American schooner, the crew of which they murdered with the exception of the mate, who, happening to be on shore, found refuge with the chief ruler, in whose service he

afterwards remained. A number of Europeans, too, who from various motives had quitted their ships, instructed the people in the use of artillery, as well as in the more simple principles of fortification. Many of the chiefs, meanwhile, had erected good houses of stone or brick, adopted in part the European dress, and even engrafted on their scanty vocabulary such English terms as were necessary to express their new ideas, or to give names to their recent acquisitions. Owing to these causes, Vancouver, when he arrived, found not only the means of an easy communication with the leading persons in the several islands, but also an ardent desire to profit by his superior knowledge, and to secure the good-will of the powerful nation to which he belonged.

At the time of Cook's visit, the four principal islands were governed by as many independent kings, who, being frequently at war, committed great havoc on each other's domains. But four years afterwards, Tamehameha, who was originally a person of subordinate rank, conspired against his sovereign, the chief of Owhyhee, and, by his superior talents, acquired possession, first of the whole of that island, and subsequently of all the cluster. In 1792, when the Discovery and Chatham arrived, the war was not yet brought to a close; for, though the inhabitants of Owhyhee and Mowee acknowledged the authority of the usurper, Towee and Woahoo were still governed by their respective princes, who continued to maintain their ground against him. Owing, indeed, to a destructive pestilence, which had extended its ravages over the whole archipelago, an armistice was mutually conceded; and it was at this crisis that our countrymen made their appearance on the coast. Both parties courted the aid of the captain, whose interposition, they were convinced, would decide the contest in favour of the cause which he should choose to embrace. But he firmly declined to interfere in a civil war, the result of which, he well knew, must be attended with important effects on the future fortunes of the country; and resolutely refused to supply to either side the arms

that they both most earnestly solicited. He conferred upon them, however, a much greater boon in a breed of cattle and of sheep, which Tamehameha immediately declared should be tabooed, or held sacred, during the full space of ten years; and, the climate being extremely favourable to these animals, the islands are now well stocked with both, so that ships, in addition to fresh vegetables, are supplied with excellent beef. The foreigners resident at the principal havens had also introduced the culture of many fruits and esculent plants; while, by the care they bestowed on the goats which had been left by successive navigators, they gradually made the natives acquainted with the luxuries of the dairy, and with a variety of meat more delicate than they had hitherto known.*

The king had sufficient penetration to perceive that in proportion as his dominions should become valuable in the eyes of Europeans, the independence of his government would be exposed to greater hazard. It was already suspected that the Americans as well as the Russians were desirous to form settlements on one or other of the islands; and therefore he resolved to place himself under the protection of a powerful nation, which, from its ascendency as a maritime state, would thwart the designs of others. It was in pursuance of this policy that he afterwards ceded to Vancouver, as the representative of the English monarch, the sovereignty of his own country and in fact of the whole Sandwich group, which he had not yet completely established in his own right. In return, the captain assisted the aspiring barbarian to build a small vessel, which proved of essential service to him in his future expeditions, so that in the course of a few months, by the death of the prince of Woahoo, who fell in battle, he became master of his territory. Soon afterwards, the chief of Nihau and Towee, intimidated by the news of this tri-

* Vancouver's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 155, and Edinburgh Cabinet Library, No. XXXIII. p. 299. See also the 2d volume of Vancouver's Voyage, p. 99-172.

ıcknowledged himself a vassal, and consented
the government of his paternal domains as a
y to the ruler of Owhyhee.*

uccess of Tamehameha, whose wisdom was equal
ourage, and who was known to be desirous of
course with civilized countries, opened the path
rs of every class, more especially from England
erica. Indeed the discovery of some excellent
s in the island of Woahoo, which had escaped
ice of Vancouver when examining the coast,
em become the resort of shipping from all parts
'orld, which, during a long voyage in the North-
ific, might require repairs, water, or provisions.
'ood, an article of great value in the Chinese
was found in the mountains, and soon proved
ıns of an extensive commerce with foreigners.
rn for this production the natives at first were
with pieces of iron, nails, and coarse cloth;
'ds, as their notions of exchangeable value ex-
they required axes, guns, muskets, powder, and

details of the cession of Owhyhee are given in the third
. 56, of Vancouver's narrative. The preliminaries being
ıssed and thoroughly understood on both sides, the king re-
s former proposition, which was unanimously approved, and
party declared their consent by saying that they were no
ınata no Owhyhee—the people of Owhyhee, but *Tanata*
nnee—the people of Britain. This was instantly made
the surrounding crowd, and the same expressions were
repeated throughout the attending multitude. Mr Puget,
ied by some of the officers, immediately went on shore;
layed the British colours, and took possession of the island
ajesty's name, in conformity to the inclinations and desire
ıameha and his subjects. On this ceremony being finished,
vas fired from the vessels, after which the following in-
on copper was deposited in a very conspicuous place at the
idence. "On the 25th February 1794, Tamehameha the
ouncil with the principal chiefs of the island assembled on
Britannic Majesty's ship the Discovery, in Karakakooa
in presence of George Vancouver, commander of the sloop,
nt Peter Puget, commander of his said Majesty's armed
e Chatham, and the other officers of the Discovery, after
deration, unanimously ceded the said island of Owhyhee to
nnic Majesty, and acknowledged themselves to be subjects
Britain."

shot; next, they bargained for American and British manufactures; and finally, longing, as has been said, for the possession of ships, they purchased with the fruits of their industry schooners and brigs measuring several hundred tons.

In the summer of 1793, the painful duty devolved on Vancouver of punishing the individuals who had murdered Lieutenant Hergest and Mr Gooch of the Dædalus. A witness stated that these gentlemen went on shore with the view of procuring water; that a dispute arose between the natives and some sailors belonging to the tender; that in order to prevent a complaint being lodged with the king, it was resolved to slay the two officers; that in pursuance of this horrid resolution Mr Gooch was instantly killed by being stabbed through the heart with a pahooa; that the first blow only wounded Mr Hergest, who, in endeavouring to make his way to the boat, was knocked down with a large stone, and then put to death in a most barbarous manner. Upon inquiry, it was found that the three individuals principally concerned were still resident in the neighbourhood; who, upon being regularly convicted of the crime, were condemned to be publicly executed. That the ceremony might be rendered as solemn as possible, a guard of seamen and marines was stationed on the side of the ship next the shore, while the rest of the crew were at the great guns, lest any disturbance should arise. It was the duty of the chief in whose district the guilty persons lived to enforce the sentence of law, who, having first cut off the hair of the devoted wretches, to be presented to the king of the island, blew out their brains with a pistol; and so dexterously was this melancholy office performed, that life fled with the report of the piece, muscular motion ceasing entirely at the same moment.*

* Vancouver, vol. ii. p. 210. The chiefs, for their own vindication, made every exertion to bring the offenders to justice; it being previously doubtful whether some of them had not countenanced the murder.

We purposely refrain from a more minute description of the Sandwich archipelago, as the affairs of these interesting islands will present themselves to our notice at a future period, and under a more recent aspect. Their progress in civilisation has gradually advanced, founded chiefly on an increased intercourse with the commercial states of Europe and America, and modified, in some degree, by the principles of Christianity received from the various orders of missionaries.

It may have been observed by the reader, that the officers of the expedition now described considered Captain Cook as the original discoverer of the Sandwich Islands, not being aware of their identity with Los Majos and the Islas de la Mesa, seen by the Spaniards more than a century before the English navigator visited that portion of the northern Pacific, but placed inaccurately in their charts in respect to longitude. Vancouver, as well as Dixon, Maurelle, and La Perouse, made diligent search for the cluster mentioned by Mendana, and, it need not be added, without success. In modern times, the voyager is no longer perplexed in his investigations by the mistake of the Spanish admiral, whose industry was greater than his science, and who possessed not the means which art has since supplied to aid the practical conclusions of astronomy. 1794

CHAPTER III.

Edwards, Wilson, Fanning, and Turnbull.

Motives which led to the Voyage of Lieutenant Bligh—His Instructions in Regard to Plants—He arrives at the Society Islands—Inquiries relative to Captain Cook—Co-operation of the Natives—The Areois—Funeral of the Surgeon—Attempt to cut the Cable of the Bounty—Suspicions of Bligh—Mutiny on Board his Ship—Supposed Cause of this Rising—Defence of Christian—Navigation in the open Boat—The Arrival at Timor—Government despatch Captain Edwards in the Pandora in Search of Mutineers—Proceedings at Otaheite—Treatment of the Prisoners on Board the Frigate—Plan adopted by Christian and his Adherents—Pandora leaves the Society Islands—Several Discoveries made—Visits the Hapai and Fijee Groups—Edwards sails to the Coast of New Holland—Wreck of his Ship—Loss of Lives, including some of the Mutineers—Sufferings of the Survivors—Arrival at Coupang—Adventures of a Boat's Crew—Departure for England—Wreck of the Antelope, Captain Wilson, on one of the Pelew Islands—Kind Reception by the Natives—The King and Royal Family—English Sailors assist the Inhabitants in War—Habits and Manners of the People—The King confides his Son Lee Boo to the Care of Captain Wilson—Character and History of the Youth—Voyages of Mr Fanning—Discovery of some Islands—Adventures in the higher Latitudes of South Sea—New South Shetland—Deception Island—Reasons why not sooner discovered—Voyage of Mr Turnbull round the World—St Salvador—Manners of the Portuguese—New South Wales—Natives of New Holland—Norfolk Island—Soil, Climate, and Productions—Attempt on his Ship at Ulietea—Missionaries—Scepticism of Chiefs—Return of Author.

As the narrative of Captain Edwards could not be fully understood without a reference to an earlier voyage performed by Lieutenant Bligh, it is necessary to lay before the reader a brief account of a remarkable incident which has given a most painful celebrity to the

latter undertaking. Upon a representation from the merchants and planters interested in our West India possessions, stating that the introduction of the bread-fruit tree, as an article of food, would be of very essential benefit to the inhabitants of those islands, George the Third gave directions to the Lords of the Admiralty to fit out a ship proper for the purpose and send her into the South Sea. A vessel of two hundred and fifteen tons, named the Bounty, was procured and placed under the command of Mr Bligh, an officer who, as he had served under Captain Cook, was well acquainted with the navigation of the Southern Pacific, and no stranger to the language spoken in the several groups which he might have occasion to visit.

He was instructed to proceed to the Society Islands, whence, after having taken on board as many trees and plants as might be thought necessary, he was to direct his course through Endeavour Straits, which separate New Holland from New Guinea, to Prince's Island in the Straits of Sunda; or, if more convenient, to the eastern side of Java, where he was desired to add to his stock mangosteens, duriens, jacks, nancas, lansas, and other fruit-trees of that quarter, as well as the rice-plant which grows on dry land; this last, he was assured, being regularly cultivated in Prince's Island. From the stations now indicated, he was directed to proceed round the Cape of Good Hope to the West Indies, and leave one-half of the plants, which might still be alive, at the royal botanical establishment in the island of St Vincent, and then go on to Jamaica, where he was to deposit the remainder. He was commanded to take care that specimens of all the varieties should be reserved for his majesty's garden at Kew, being carefully selected by the professional persons who were to accompany him on the voyage.

On the 23d December 1787, Lieutenant Bligh sailed from Spithead, and early in the following month reached Teneriffe, where he repaired some damages sustained in a storm at the mouth of the channel.

Finding it impossible to double Cape Horn, where the weather proved so exceedingly tempestuous that the elements, as Lord Anson expressed it, only ceased for a moment from their fury, as it were "to draw breath in order to return with redoubled violence," he determined to bear away for the eastward, in expectation of making a quicker passage by the Cape of Good Hope and round New Holland. On the 26th October, the Bounty anchored in Matavai Bay, after having run, according to the measurement of the log, not less than twenty-seven thousand and eighty-six miles, which, on the average, was at the rate of a hundred and eight miles every twenty-four hours.

Many inquiries were made by the Otaheitans after Captain Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, and other gentlemen whom they had seen on board the Resolution and Discovery. A ship had touched at the island, from the crew of which they learned that the great captain was no more; but of the circumstances which attended his death they seemed to be entirely ignorant, and Mr Bligh gave strict directions that the murder should not be mentioned. He learned with regret that Omai, and the two New Zealand boys who had been left with him, were dead; though every one agreed that they had not suffered any violence to which their premature decease could be ascribed. In return to his questions regarding the cattle which had been left by the English navigator, he received a very unfavourable account; and it was not a little mortifying to perceive that, in respect to theft and intemperance, the habits of the natives were not in any degree improved. In reference to the cows and sheep, Tinah, father of the reigning prince, related that, sixty-three moons after the departure of the Resolution, the people of Eimeo joined with the warriors of Attahooroo, a district of Otaheite, and made a descent on Oparree: and that after some resistance, during which many men were killed, himself and his followers fled to the mountains, leaving all their property to the mercy of the assailants, who destroyed

almost every thing which they could not conveniently remove. Some of the cattle were killed and eaten, but the greater part were taken to Eimeo. The cows, it appeared, had produced eight calves, and the ewes ten lambs. The ducks, among which were included the geese, had increased greatly, but the turkeys and peafowls, whatever might be the cause, had not bred at all.

One morning, a man appeared on the deck of the Bounty with Cook's picture, which had been drawn by Mr Webber in 1777, and left with Otoo. The frame was a little injured, and the object of the visiter was to get it repaired. It was pleasing to find that great value was attached to it as a memorial of "Toote earee no Otaheite"—Cook the chief of Otaheite. The natives asserted that the great captain had desired Otoo, whenever any English should come, to show the drawing, and it would be acknowledged as a token of friendship.

Mr Bligh found no difficulty in obtaining the consent of the leading men in the island to select the various plants which he had been sent to procure. Addressing Tinah, he said that King George, from a desire to benefit him and his country, had sent out many valuable presents; and will you not, he added, send something to his majesty in return? "Yes," he exclaimed, "I will send him any thing I have;" and then began to enumerate the different articles in his power, among which he mentioned the bread-fruit.

Meantime the lieutenant received many invitations from the principal inhabitants, whose hospitality was not a little stimulated by the hope of receiving presents, and of being favourably reported to the King of Britain, who, they understood, exercised a generosity equal to his great power. On one occasion he was taken to visit a party of areois, a society whose existence is at once a disgrace to the natives and a paradox to strangers. The object of that licentious institute appears to be the maintenance of an aristocratic body, who, while they are exempted from the ordinary toils and cares of life, are understood to devote themselves to the defence of

their country, and perhaps to the preservation of a certain species of traditionary knowledge. To prevent the undue increase of an association who are supported at the public expense, and the accumulation of cares which would necessarily withdraw their thoughts from the fancied duties of their station, they are allowed to put to death all their children, immediately after birth. The Otaheitans themselves, whose doings are regulated by habit rather than by reflection, could give no other reason for this strange indulgence than that it prevented an excess of population. "We have too many children and too many men, was their constant excuse." Yet it does not appear that they are apprehensive of an undue increase of the lower class of the people, none of them being ever admitted into this mystical society. In some respects, the areois bear a resemblance to the knights templar of Europe, who combined in their characters the attributes of a religious and a military profession. They receive offerings in the name of the gods, and they carry arms in the name of their country; nevertheless, their mode of life does no honour to their pretensions, either as patriots or defenders of the national faith.

In small islands like those of the South Sea, the natives of which, before they were discovered by Europeans, had not, it is probable, the remotest idea of the existence of other lands, it is not quite unreasonable that the symptoms of an increasing population should have occasioned apprehensions of universal distress. Orders of celibacy, which have proved prejudicial in other countries, might perhaps in the Society group have been found useful, could their purpose have been attained by means not absolutely wicked. But there is little doubt, that on many occasions the murder of infants was perpetrated with the view of satisfying some cruel adjustment of rank and precedency; for, considering the simple manners of the Otaheitans, nothing is more remarkable than the strictness with which the several gradations in society are maintained.

It is doubtful whether any action, however meritorious, could elevate a man above the class in which he was born, unless he happened to acquire sufficient power to conquer dignity for himself. On the same principle, it was ruled that, if any woman of the inferior classes had a child by an earee or chief, it should not be suffered to live. The introduction of Christianity, no doubt, has to some extent softened the manners and relaxed the superstitious notions of the privileged families; and there is reason to hope, that the severe restrictions and impure maxims of the areois will soon find a place among the things which have been, and will only be remembered as a proof that the principles of heathenism failed to exert on social institutions the same benign influence which springs from the milder genius of the gospel.

On the 24th December, the plants, amounting in all to seven hundred and seventy-four pots, were taken on board in a healthy state. The natives reckon eight kinds of the bread-fruit tree, each of which they distinguish by a different name; but the fruit itself, it is admitted, differs less in quality than in the season at which it ripens, and the appearance of the leaf wherewith it is covered. The common method of measuring time is by moons, though the year is also divided into six parts, marked by the succession of the vegetable bread with which nature thus supplies them. In this distribution of time, there is a short interval called *tawa*, being about the end of February, when this species of fruit is not used at all; the trees notwithstanding present the usual abundance, though not in a state quite suitable for food. It is asserted by the inhabitants that the plants cannot be raised from seed; they must be propagated from shoots, which issue in great numbers from the stem near the surface of the ground.*

* Voyage to the South Sea, undertaken by command of his Majesty, for the purpose of conveying the Bread-fruit Tree to the West Indies, in his Majesty's Ship the Bounty, commanded by Lieutenant William Bligh. Including an Account of the Mutiny

Towards the close of the year, the surgeon died from the effects, it was alleged, of indolence and intemperance. Bligh had obtained permission to bring the body ashore; and on going with Tinah to the place intended for the interment, he found that the natives had already begun to dig the grave. The chief asked if they were doing it right: "there," said he, "the sun rises, and there it sets." Whether the idea of making the grave east and west is their own, or whether they learned it from the Spaniards, who had performed a funeral there in 1774, there were no means of ascertaining; but it was certain they had no intimation of that kind from any one belonging to the English ship. During the ceremony, many of the principal inhabitants, who thought it their duty to attend, paid the greatest respect to the religious service; and we are informed that numbers of them who frequented divine worship on Sundays, behaved with the utmost decency and apparent devotion. Some of the women, indeed, at one time were inclined to laugh, upon hearing the crew join in the general responses; but a look from the commanding officer was sufficient to recall them to a sense of decorum.

On the 6th of February 1789, an occurrence happened which gave the lieutenant deep concern, not only on account of the danger to which the ship was thereby exposed, but as it tended greatly to diminish the confidence and good understanding hitherto maintained between him and the natives. The wind had blown fresh in the night, and at dawn of day he discovered that the cable by which the Bounty rode had been cut near the water's edge, in such a manner that only one strand remained whole. While the crew were engaged in securing the vessel, Tinah presented himself on board; and though there was no reason whatever to suppose

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on Board the said Ship, and the subsequent Voyage of the Crew in the Ship's Boat from Tofoa, one of the Friendly Isles, to Timor, a Dutch Settlement in the East Indies. 1 vol. 4to, London, 1792.

that he was privy to the transaction, Bligh nevertheless thought it his duty to speak to him in a very peremptory manner, and insisted upon his discovering and bringing the offender to justice. He promised to use his utmost endeavours to secure the guilty person. Next morning, the chief and his wife returned to the ship, and gave an assurance that they had made the strictest inquiries without success. This not appearing satisfactory to the commander, he behaved towards them with great coldness, at which they were much distressed; and the female at length gave vent to her grief in a flood of tears. "I could no longer," says he, "keep up the appearance of mistrusting them, but I earnestly recommended to them, as they valued the King of England's friendship, that they would exert their utmost endeavours to find out the offenders, which they faithfully promised to do."*

At this part of his narrative, the lieutenant observes, it had since occurred to him that this attempt to cut the ship adrift was most probably the act of some of his own people; whose purpose of remaining at Otaheite might have been effectually answered without danger, if she had been driven on shore. At the time it happened, he admits, he entertained not the slightest suspicion of this kind, nor did the possibility of it enter into his mind, having no impression that so strong an attachment to these islands could prevail among his people as to induce them to abandon every prospect of returning to their native country.

This afterthought on the part of Bligh has been pronounced wholly without foundation, and not in any degree supported by subsequent facts; the damage done to the cable being ascribed to its chafing over the rocky bottom. But it may be presumed that to the eye of a seaman the difference must have been obvious between the effects of friction and the use of a sharp instrument in dividing the strands of a large rope. Hence, there

* Voyage to the South Sea, p. 124-126.

seems to remain no small degree of probability that the injury in question, so far from being accidental, might have been traced to design, either on the side of the natives or on that of some individuals among the crew. This notion sank deeply into the mind of the commander. "When about to leave Otaheite," he remarks, "for twenty-three weeks we had been treated with the utmost affection and regard, and which seemed to increase in proportion to our stay. That we were not insensible to their kindness, the events which followed more than sufficiently prove; for to the friendly and endearing behaviour of these people may be ascribed the motives for that event which effected the ruin of an expedition that there was every reason to hope would have been completed in the most fortunate manner.*

In the beginning of April, the Bounty was ready for sea, having on board, besides the seven hundred and seventy-four pots already mentioned, thirty-nine tubs, and twenty-four boxes. The number of bread-fruit plants was one thousand and fifteen; besides which the botanist had collected a variety of others, including the "avee," which is one of the finest fruits in the world; the "ayyah," which, though not so rich, possesses a very refreshing flavour; the "rattah," not much unlike a chesnut, and may be eaten raw or boiled in the same manner as Windsor beans; and the "orae-ab," which is a very superior kind of plantain. All these had been particularly recommended by Sir Joseph Banks, to whose care the arrangements for the voyage had been confided.

On the 27th April, the eve of the mutiny, Mr Bligh found himself between the island Tofoa and Kotoo, advancing in a course of uninterrupted prosperity, and attended with circumstances in the highest degree pleasing. On leaving the deck at night, he gave directions

* Voyage to the South Sea, p. 141. See also "The Eventful History of the Mutiny and Piratical Seizure of his Majesty's Ship Bounty; its Cause and Consequences," p. 54-56. 1 vol. 12mo, London, 1831.

s Churchhill, ship's corporal, John Mills, gunner's
ınd Thomas Barkitt, seaman, went into his cabin,
izing him, tied his hands with a cord behind his
hreatening him with instant death if he spoke or
he least noise. He called, however, as loud as he
in the hope of finding assistance ; but they had al-
secured the officers who were not of their party by
; sentinels at their doors. Christian had only a
in his hand, the others had muskets and bayonets.
hauled him out of bed, forced him on deck in his
suffering great pain, says he, "from the tightness
which they had tied my hands. I demanded the
of such violence, but received no other answer
buse for not holding my tongue." The boatswain
dered to hoist the launch out, with a threat, if he
t do it instantly, of severe measures. When the
vas out, Mr Hayward and Mr Hallet, two of the
ipmen, and another person, were commanded to
d into it. The commander desired to know the
of such proceedings, and endeavoured to persuade
eople near him not to persist in such acts of vio-
; but the only answer he received was "hold your
e, sir, or you are dead this instant."

Bligh states in his narrative that he continued his
vours to turn the tide of affairs, when Christian
ed the cutlass which he had first drawn for a
et that was brought to him, "and holding me with
ng gripe by the cord that tied my hands, he
ened with many oaths to kill me immediately if
ld not be quiet: the villains round me had their
cocked and their bayonets fixed. Particular per-
were called to go into the boat, and were hurried
the side ; whence I concluded that with these
e I was to be set adrift. I therefore made another
to bring about a change, but with no other effect

than to be threatened to have my brains blown out." The boatswain and seamen who were to go in the boat were allowed to collect twine, canvass, lines, sails, cordage, with a cask of water containing twenty-eight gallons; and the clerk got one hundred and fifty pounds of bread, with a small quantity of rum and wine, also a quadrant and compass; but he was forbidden on pain of death to touch either map, ephemeris, book of astronomical observations, sextant, time-keeper, or any surveys or drawings.

The officers and men being in the boat, Mr Christian, the chief mutineer, advanced to his prisoner, and said, "Come, Captain Bligh, your officers and men are now in the boat, and you must go with them; if you attempt to make the least resistance, you will instantly be put to death." Without farther ceremony he was forced over the side, when they untied his hands; and the small bark being veered astern by a rope, the party, amounting in all to nineteen individuals, were immediately cast loose in the open ocean. "Notwithstanding the roughness with which I was treated," says the commander, "the remembrance of past kindnesses produced some signs of remorse in Christian. When they were forcing me out of the ship, I asked him if this treatment was a proper return for the many instances he had received of my friendship? He appeared disturbed at my question, and answered with much emotion, 'That, Captain Bligh—that is the thing—I am in hell—I am in hell!'"

To the question which must naturally arise in the mind of every reader regarding the cause of such a revolt, the lieutenant endeavours to supply an answer, founded on the circumstances to which allusion has already been made. He concludes that the mutineers had flattered themselves with the hope of a more happy life among the Otaheitans than they could possibly enjoy in England; and that this, joined to some female connexions, occasioned the miserable catastrophe. In *proof* of the soundness of this opinion, he relates that,

after he was turned adrift with his eighteen companions in distress, they heard a shout on board several times repeated, "Huzza for Otaheite!" The women in that island, he adds, are handsome, mild, and cheerful in their manners and conversation, possessed of great sensibility, and have sufficient delicacy to make them admired and loved. The chiefs were so much attached to our people that they encouraged their stay among them, and even made them promises of large possessions. Under these and many other attendant circumstances, it is not perhaps much to be wondered at, though scarcely possible to have been foreseen, that a set of sailors, most of them having no relations at home who could engage their thoughts, should have been led away; especially when, in addition to such powerful inducements, they imagined it in their power to fix themselves in the midst of plenty on one of the finest islands in the world, where, without any labour, the allurements of dissipation are beyond any thing that can be conceived. Desertions, accordingly, have happened, more or less, from all the ships which have been at the Society Islands; but it has always been in the commanders' power to make the chiefs return their people. "Therefore," concludes Mr Bligh, "the knowledge that it was unsafe to desert perhaps first led mine to consider with what ease so small a ship might be surprised, and that so favourable an opportunity would never offer to them again."*

Others less partial to the commander of the Bounty have discovered the cause of this celebrated revolt in his own character, more especially his rough manners and tyrannical disposition. The story which he published on his return to England obtained implicit credit; but it has recently been maintained that his narrative was proved to be false in many material bearings by evidence before a court-martial; and moreover, that every act of his public life after this event was stamped with

* Voyage to the South Sea, p. 160-164.

an insolence, an inhumanity, and coarseness, which fully developed the fierceness of his nature.*

It may not appear unseasonable to mention, that there is in Captain Beechey's account of Pitcairn Island, where it is well known some of the mutineers found a permanent refuge, a passage which seems to cast a stain on the memory of one of the officers, Mr Stewart, who has always been considered entirely innocent. In allusion to Mr Christian, the captain observes that his plan was to set himself adrift upon a raft, and make his way to Tofoaa, which was still in sight. "As quick in the execution as in the design, the raft was soon constructed, various articles were got together, and he was on the point of launching it, when a young officer, who afterwards perished in the Pandora, to whom Christian communicated his intention, recommended him, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, to endeavour to take possession of the ship, which he thought would not be very difficult, as many of the ship's company were not well disposed towards the commander, and would all be very glad to return to Otaheite, and reside among their friends in that island. This daring proposition is even more extraordinary than the premeditated scheme of his companion, and if true, certainly relieves Christian from part of the odium which has hitherto attached to him as the sole instigator of the mutiny."

But Captain Beechey, desirous of being correct in his statement, sent it to Captain Heywood, also one of the officers of the Bounty, for any observations which he might see proper to make, in regard to the part assigned to the youth who perished in the Pandora. The reply is given in the following terms, which no longer leave

* Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, p. 72; and United Service Journal for April 1831. "The accusation of Bligh having falsified his narrative," says the author of the former work, "is a very heavy charge, and, it is to be feared, is not wholly without foundation;" though it would perhaps be more correct to say, that both in the printed narrative of his voyage, and in the narrative on which the mutineers were tried, there are many important omissions when compared with his original manuscript journal.

any doubt in relation to the main facts, as well as to the motives whence they originated. "That Christian informed the boatswain and the carpenter, Messrs Hayward and Stewart, of his determination to leave the ship upon a raft, on the night preceding the mutiny, is certain; but that any one of them—Stewart in particular—should have recommended, rather than risk his life on so hazardous an expedition, that he should try the expedient of taking the ship from the captain, is entirely at variance with the whole character and conduct of the latter, both before and after the mutiny, as well as with the assurance of Christian himself the very night he quitted Otaheite, that the idea of attempting to take the ship had never entered his distracted mind until the moment he relieved the deck, and found his mate and midshipman asleep." Nay, it appears that, in a voluntary communication, he stated other circumstances relative to the mutiny which acquit every one but himself of the guilt of planning it, though, to a certain extent, they might be held to extenuate the crime, if viewed in connexion with his personal feelings. It ought to be added that the particulars collected at Pitcairn Island were received from Alexander Smith, better known as John Adams, who, it is acknowledged, was not always correct in the information with which he occasionally entertained his visiters.*

The most wonderful occurrence in the history of this mutiny, is the navigation in an open boat from the Friendly Islands to Timor in the Indian Ocean, a distance of four thousand statute miles, with hardly enough of food to keep the people alive. On the 5th June, a booby was caught by the hand, the blood of which was divided among three of the men who were weakest, and the bird kept for next day's dinner. On the 7th, after

* Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, p. 90. The author relates that the statement made by Adams and Captain Beechey gave great pain to Heywood, who adverted to it on his deathbed, wishing, out of regard for Stewart's memory, and his surviving friends, that it should be publicly contradicted.

a miserably wet and cold night, the sea, which was running high, broke over the boat the whole day. Mr Ledward, the surgeon, and Lawrence Lebogue, a hardy old seaman, appeared to be giving way very fast. No other assistance could be given to them besides a teaspoonful or two of wine, which had been carefully saved for such a melancholy occasion. In the morning of the 10th, there was a visible alteration for the worse in many of the crew. An extreme weakness, swelled legs, hollow and ghastly countenances, a more than common inclination to sleep, with an apparent debility of understanding, seemed the melancholy presages of an approaching dissolution. On the 11th, Mr Bligh announced to his wretched companions, that he had no doubt they had now passed the meridian of the eastern part of Timor, a piece of intelligence which diffused universal joy and satisfaction. Accordingly, at three in the morning of the following day, the island was discovered at the distance of only two leagues. "It is not possible for me," says the lieutenant, "to describe the pleasure which the blessing of the sight of this land diffused among us. It appeared scarcely credible to ourselves, that, in an open boat and so poorly provided, we should have been able to reach the coast of Timor in forty-one days after leaving Tofoaa, having in that time run by our log a distance of three thousand six hundred and eighteen nautical miles; and that notwithstanding our extreme distress, no one should have perished in the voyage." The poor sufferers, when landed, were scarcely able to walk; their condition is described as most deplorable. But they were received with every mark of kindness, hospitality, and humanity; the houses of the principal inhabitants being thrown open for their reception. Their leader observes, that "the abilities of a painter could rarely, perhaps, have been displayed to more advantage than in the delineation of the two groups of figures which at this time presented themselves to each other. An indifferent spectator, if such could be found, would have been at a loss which

most to admire, the eyes of famine sparkling at immediate relief, or the horror of their preservers at the sight of so many spectres, whose ghastly countenances, if the cause had been unknown, would rather have excited terror than pity. Our bodies were nothing but skin and bones, our limbs were full of sores, and we were clothed with rags; in this condition, with the tears of gratitude flowing down our cheeks, the people of Timor beheld us with a mixture of horror, surprise, and pity.*

An action so atrocious as the seizure of a public ship by a mutinous crew could not be overlooked by the government, who immediately despatched the Pandora frigate under the command of Captain Edwards, with orders to proceed in the first instance to Otaheite, and, not finding the deserters there, to visit the different clusters of islands in the South Sea. Sailing in August 1790, he arrived in Matavai Bay on the 23d March following, where he soon learned that several individuals belonging to the Bounty had taken up their abode. Early next morning, a canoe having one man on board put off from the shore; and this person, as soon as he came alongside, expressed the greatest satisfaction at seeing Mr Hayward, one of the officers who had served under Bligh. This person, whose name was Joseph Coleman, attempted, it is said, to come on board even before the Pandora had anchored, and seemed ready to give all the information that was required of him. He was almost immediately followed by Mr Peter Heywood and Mr Stewart, before any boat had been sent ashore. A conversation was about to ensue between these two midshipmen and Mr Hayward, now lieutenant, but Captain Edwards, ordering them to desist, commanded a sentinel to take the prisoners into safe custody, and to put them in irons. Four other mutineers forthwith made their appearance, from whom the infor-

* A Voyage to the South Sea, p. 228-234. Mr Bligh mentions with great gratitude the attentions received from the governor, William Adrian Van Este, who, in that capacity, represented the States of Holland.

mation was obtained that a certain number of the Bounty's people still remaining, had built a schooner, in which, on the previous day, they had sailed from Matavai towards the north-western part of the island.

Edwards, continuing the narrative, farther relates that, on receiving the intelligence just mentioned, he despatched the two lieutenants, Corner and Hayward, with the pinnace and launch, in order to intercept her. After an unsuccessful pursuit, they returned on the approach of night to the ship; but the fugitives, for some reason which does not appear, came back to the island, and, abandoning their little vessel, fled to the neighbouring mountains. On the second day, they descended from their place of refuge, and surrendering to Mr Corner without any attempt at resistance, were carried on board the Pandora. The total number, including those who voluntarily presented themselves as soon as the frigate entered the bay, was fourteen.

The captain, according to his own narrative, put the pirates, as he terms them, into a round-house which he built on the after-part of the quarter-deck, for their more effectual security, and to prevent them from having any communication with the crew, whose sympathies might have been excited in their favour. The surgeon, to whose publication we are principally indebted for particulars, describes it as the most desirable place in the ship, and adds that orders were given that the prisoners should be victualled in every respect the same as the other seamen, both in meat, liquor, and even the extra indulgences, notwithstanding the established rules of the service, which restrict persons under confinement to two-thirds allowance. But Morrison, one of the unfortunate individuals in whose favour this unwonted humanity was exercised, gives a very different account of their treatment. He asserts, that Edwards put both legs of the two midshipmen in irons, branding them with the opprobrious epithet of piratical villains; and that they with the rest being strongly handcuffed, were put into a place only eleven feet long,

built as a prison, and aptly named Pandora's Box, which was covered by a scuttle in the roof about eighteen inches square. He subjoins a statement which is hardly supported by probability, importing that two sentinels were kept constantly on the top of the temporary edifice, with orders to shoot the first of its inmates who should attempt to address another in the Otaheitan language.*

Immediately upon his arrival, the captain received information that Mr Christian, with nine of his companions and several natives of both sexes, had, after a short stay at Otaheite, slipped the Bounty's cable in the night, and leaving the rest of the crew on shore, departed no one knew whither. Edwards had not therefore the aid even of a conjecture to guide him as to the course taken by the chief mutineer; but he learned from different individuals, as well as from certain papers left behind, his proceedings on board after Bligh and the others had been turned adrift near Tofoaa. It was ascertained that the pirates, in the first instance, steered for Toobouai, where they landed on the 25th May, after having cast into the sea the greater part of the bread-fruit plants, and divided among themselves the property of the officers and men whom they had

* A Voyage round the World in his Majesty's Frigate Pandora, performed under the Direction of Captain Edwards, in the Years 1790, 1791, and 1792. With the Discoveries made in the South Sea; and the many Distresses experienced by the Crew from Shipwreck and Famine, in a Voyage of Eleven Hundred Miles in open Boats, between Endeavour Straits and the Island of Timor. By George Hamilton, late Surgeon of the Pandora. 8vo, Berwick, 1793.

Morrison's statement derives no corroboration from the narrative of Mr Hamilton, who, as noticed above, relates that the prison was built on the quarter-deck, with the view of affording to the unfortunate captives every advantage of a free circulation of air; and that the "captain very humanely commiserated with their unhappy and inevitable length of confinement."—"The prisoners' wives visited the ship daily, and brought their children, who were permitted to be carried to their unhappy fathers. Their wives brought them ample supplies of every delicacy that the country afforded, and behaved with the greatest fidelity and affection to them."—P. 32-34.

sent away in the boat. At this island they intended to form a settlement, but the aversion of the inhabitants, the want of necessary materials, and the quarrels which had already begun to take place among themselves, determined them to go to Otaheite to procure what might still be required to effect their ultimate purpose.

Their appearance in Matavai Bay excited some surprise in the mind of Otoo and the other chiefs, who asked what had become of the commander and the remainder of his people, as also of the numerous plants with which they had been provided. In reply, they had recourse to a shameful falsehood; stating that they had most unexpectedly fallen in with Captain Cook at an island called Whytootake, where he intended to establish a colony, and therefore needed the young trees procured at Otaheite. They added that Mr Bligh and the others had gone ashore to assist the great navigator, having intrusted to Mr Christian the command of the Bounty; and that they were now come by the orders of the lieutenant to obtain an additional supply of hogs, goats, fowls, and bread-fruit. This artful story, addressed to a class of persons equally humane and simple, was not for a moment doubted. The islanders were especially delighted to hear that their old friend "Toote" was still alive, and about to settle so near them: they therefore made every possible exertion to procure the articles required for his accommodation, and accordingly, in a very short time, they collected three hundred and twelve hogs, thirty-eight goats, eight dozen of fowls, a bull, and a cow, and a large quantity of bread-fruit, plantains, bananas, and other vegetables. With this stock on board, the Bounty returned to Toobouai, where an attempt was made to build a fort, though again opposed by the natives, who saw in the landing of such foreigners an end to their own peace and independence. Pressed by circumstances which he could not successfully oppose, and disturbed by angry discussions which he could not control, Christian determined that the ship should be taken once more to Otaheite, where such as

desired to go ashore might have an opportunity of gratifying their inclination, while those who preferred to remain on board should have the choice of engaging in an enterprise which would carry them for ever beyond the reach of their enemies.

When returned to their former anchorage at Matavai, sixteen of the mutineers landed; of whom fourteen, as has just been related, were received on board the Pandora, and two, Thompson and Churchhill, had already perished by violent deaths at the hands of the islanders. The others, amounting to nine, agreed to continue in the Bounty; and, setting sail on the night of the 21st September 1789, they proceeded in a north-western direction, with the view, it may be presumed, of deceiving those who had refused to share their fortunes; for it is well known that in point of fact their course was shaped towards the east, in a latitude little frequented by European vessels. They took with them nineteen natives, seven men and twelve women, whose services or society might prove useful to them during their exile, of which they could not foresee any termination. It was not even conjectured in what direction they meant to proceed; but their leader had been frequently heard to say that his object was to discover some unknown or uninhabited spot in the ocean, in which there was no harbour for shipping, where he would run the Bounty ashore, and make use of her materials to form an establishment for his little colony. This account, vague and unsatisfactory as it must have been esteemed, was the only guide that could be procured to direct Captain Edwards in his intended search.

Leaving Otaheite in the beginning of May, he turned his prow towards the west, and visited in succession Huaheine, Ulietea, Otaha, and Bolabola. The king of this last island, whose name was Tatahoo, could not supply any information in regard to the fugitives, beyond the assurance that there were no white men in his dominions nor in those of his immediate neighbours. On the 19th day of the month, the frigate touched at

Whytootake, an islet discovered by Bligh, one of the natives of which, who recollected Mr Hayward, now formed the channel of communication between the English and the principal inhabitants. As a proof that these simple people are not in the lowest stage of barbarism, they offered for sale, as a specimen of their skill in handicraft, a beautiful lance, nine feet long, and cut in the form of a Gothic spire, all its ornaments being executed in a kind of alto relievo.

Upon reaching the Palmerston group, a lieutenant was sent ashore in charge of a boat and another small vessel described as the tender; the latter being, in fact, the schooner which the mutineers had built in Otaheite, the history of which is not a little interesting. In point of size, it is said, she was not much larger than the celebrated launch which carried the late commander of the Bounty and his adherents from Tofoaa to Timor; her dimensions being thirty-five feet in length, and nine in breadth. The investigation having been considerably protracted among these islands, the Pandora was blown out to sea, and the weather continuing hazy, the boats could not possibly rejoin her before she was compelled to leave the coast. The tender was afterwards recovered at Samarang in the Dutch settlement of Java; but of the other, on board of which were a midshipman and four sailors, no tidings have ever been received. "It may be difficult to surmise," says the surgeon, "what has been the fate of those unfortunate men. They had a piece of salt beef thrown into the boat to them on leaving the ship; and it rained a good deal that night and the following day, which might satiate their thirst. It is by these accidents," he adds, "the divine ruler of the universe has peopled the southern hemisphere."*

Proceeding on his course westward, the captain discovered an island which was distinguished by the name of the Duke of York. The lieutenants, Corner and Hayward, were sent in yawls to examine it, who, imme-

* Hamilton's Voyage round the World, &c. p. 71.

diately upon landing, observed a wooden buoy which must have belonged to a ship of considerable burden. On searching the huts, nets of different sizes were found hanging in them, and a variety of fishing utensils. Stages and wharfs were likewise observed in different parts of the creek; whence it was inferred that the island was only resorted to at a particular season for the purpose of drawing from the sea an addition to the means of life. Their attention was attracted to a place of venerable aspect, formed entirely by the hand of nature, and bearing a striking resemblance to a druidical temple. The falling of a very large old tree formed an arch through which the interior part of the grotto was seen, which heightened the perspective and gave a solemn dignity to the whole. At the extreme end three altars were placed, the centre one higher than the two others, on which some white shells were piled in regular order.

Clarence's Island, which presented itself on the 12th June, is not worthy of more than a passing notice; but the one named Chatham, in honour of the first lord of the Admiralty, is said to be twice the extent of Otaheite, beautifully diversified with hill and dale, and to contain a hardy warlike race of people. Otootooelah, which was also visited, is described as not less than forty miles in length, well wooded, having immense trees of which the foliage spreads like that of the oak. The natives, too, are remarkably handsome, though they somewhat impair the effect of their natural endowments by tinging their bodies with a yellow paint. The women adorn their hair with chaplets of sweet-smelling flowers, as also their necks and wrists. Among the gifts they carried on board were some very fine puddings, seasoned with aromatic spiceries, and surpassing in taste and flavour the most delicate seed-cake.*

On the 29th June, the Pandora anchored in the road

* Hamilton's Voyage, p. 74-78. Several of the islands mentioned as new discoveries were already made known to Europe by other navigators, though *under different* names.

of Anamooka, one of the Friendly Isles; and immediately afterwards Mr Hayward, in a large canoe, proceeded to the Hapai and Fijee groups to make inquiry after the Bounty and the missing tender. No intelligence was received of either; but an axe was found which had been left by Captain Cook, and an amicable intercourse was carried on with the natives, who, though equally daring as thieves and murderers, judged it expedient to restrain their atrocious propensities. On the following day, Captain Edwards received a visit from Tatafee, the king, who was understood to be lineally descended from the family who reigned in the island when first discovered by Tasman, the Dutch circumnavigator; and the fact of his supplying them with dogs and hogs is handed down by oral tradition to this day. As compared to Otaheite, society may be said to exist here in the second stage. As land is scarcer, private property is more exactly ascertained, and each possession is neatly fenced with a beautiful Chinese railing. Highways and roads leading to public places are bounded with suitable walls or hedges; and many houses have a handsome approach in the form of a gravel walk lined with shrubbery tastefully planted. Several had rows of pine-apples on each side of the avenue; a species of fruit which the English officers took much pains in teaching them how to transplant and improve. To increase their stock in this branch of rural economy, they made the valuable addition of the orange-tree, to which both soil and climate appeared extremely favourable.

Three months being passed in this fruitless search, the Pandora, about the end of August, arrived on the coast of New Holland, near to the line of coral rocks called the Barrier reef, which runs along the greater part of the eastern shore, though at a considerable distance from it. An opening had been discovered large enough to allow a safe passage to the frigate; but owing to some defect of seamanship, or to the action during the night of a powerful current, the existence of which was unknown to navigators in those days, she struck on the fatal ridge

where she was finally wrecked. After every exertion was made with the view of carrying out an anchor, the hull was found to have received so much damage that no means remained whereby she could possibly be saved. The carpenter reported that the water in the hold had increased to eight feet; and though the ship had beaten over the reef, and was floating in ten fathoms, the circumstances of the crew were not in any degree improved.

The officers, who were now consulted, gave it as their opinion that, as nothing could be done for the preservation of the vessel, it became necessary to devise means for saving the lives of the people committed to their charge. Four boats accordingly were placed astern of the Pandora, with a small quantity of bread, water, and other necessary articles deposited in them; two canoes were lashed together and put alongside; while rafts were made and every other expedient adopted which the pressing exigency either required or admitted. "About half-past six in the morning of the 29th," says the captain, "the hold was full, and the water was between decks, and it also washed in at the upper deck ports, and there were strong indications that the ship was on the very point of sinking, and we began to leap overboard and take to the boats, and before every body could get out of her, she actually sank. The boats continued astern of the ship in the direction of the drift of the tide from her, and took up the people who had hold of rafts and other floating things that had been cast loose for the purpose of supporting them on the water. The double canoe, that was able to support a considerable number of men, broke adrift with only one man, and was bulged upon a reef, and afforded us no assistance when she was so much wanted on this trying and melancholy occasion. Two of the boats were laden with men, and sent to a small sandy island or key about four miles from the wreck; and I remained near the ship for some time with the other two boats, and picked up all the people that could be seen, and then

followed the two first boats to the key; and having landed the men and cleared the boats, they were immediately despatched again to look about the wreck and the adjoining reef for any thing that might be missing, but they returned without having found a single person. On mustering the people that were saved, it appeared that eighty-nine of the ship's company, and ten of the mutineers answered to their names; but thirty-one of the ship's company and four mutineers were lost with the ship."*

It has been remarked that in these details, furnished by the commanding-officer, he takes hardly any notice of his unfortunate prisoners. Another narrative, attributed to Lieutenant Corner, supplies some particulars not at all creditable to the humanity of Edwards, who did not, on other grounds, sustain a high reputation for tenderness of heart or gentle manners. It is related on the authority now mentioned, that when the ship began to fill with water, three of the Bounty's people were let out of irons, and sent to work at the pumps. The

* This statement is taken from Captain Edwards' narrative laid before the court-martial, and quoted by the author of the Eventful History of the Mutiny of the Bounty, p. 165. Mr Hamilton relates that, when all hope of saving the ship had passed, the next care was to save the lives of the crew; to effect which, spars, booms, hencoops, and every thing buoyant was let loose, that when she went down, they might chance to get hold of something. The prisoners were ordered to be let out of irons. The water was now coming faster in at the gun-ports than the pumps could discharge; and to this minute the men never swerved from their duty. She now took a very heavy heel, so much that she lay quite down on one side. One of the officers now told the captain, who was standing aft, that the anchor on our bow was under water; that she was then going; and bidding him farewell, jumped over the quarter into the water. The captain then followed his example, and jumped after him. At that instant she took her last heel; and while every one was scrambling to windward, she sunk in an instant. The crew had just time to leap overboard, accompanying the act with a most dreadful yell. The cries of the men drowning in the water were at first awful in the extreme; but they sunk and became faint, dying away by degrees. The boats which were at some considerable distance in the drift of the tide, in about half an hour, or little better, picked up the remainder of our wretched crew.—Voyage round the World, p. 107.

others offered their assistance, and begged to be allowed a chance of saving their lives; instead of which two additional sentinels were placed over them, with orders to shoot every one who should attempt to get rid of his fetters. Seeing no prospect of escape, they betook themselves to prayer, making ready to meet their fate; every one expecting that the ship would soon go to pieces, her rudder and part of the stern-post being already beaten away.

It is asserted by the surgeon that, when the dreadful crisis was at hand, "the prisoners were ordered to be let out of irons." But, in the narrative to which allusion has been made, this statement is flatly denied; the author maintaining that no notice was taken of their frightful condition, although the captain was entreated by Mr Heywood to have mercy upon them as he was passing over their prison to make his own escape, the ship then lying on her broadside, with the larboard-bow completely under water. Fortunately the master-at-arms, either by accident or design, when slipping from the roof of "Pandora's box" into the sea, let the keys fall through the entrance, which he had just before opened, and thus enabled them to commence their own liberation. In this they were generously assisted, at the imminent risk of his own life, by William Moulter, a boatswain's mate, who clung to the combings, and pulled the long bars through the shackles, saying he would set them free or go to the bottom with them. But his benevolence did not reap its full reward, for Mr Stewart and three others perished, all of them with their hands still in manacles. On this melancholy occasion, Mr Heywood was nearly the last person who escaped from the prison, into which the water had already found its way through certain openings in the bulk-heads. Jumping overboard, he seized a plank and was swimming towards the small sandy island already mentioned, when a boat picked him up and conveyed him thither in a state of nudity. Morrison endeavoured to follow the example of his

young companion, and although handcuffed, kept himself afloat until he received assistance. The letter which Heywood wrote to his mother from Batavia removes all doubt as to the treatment inflicted on the captive mutineers. Describing the voyage from Otaheite, he remarks, that the "Pandora, ever unlucky, and as if devoted by heaven to destruction, was driven by the current upon the patch of a reef, and on which, there being a heavy surf, she was soon almost bulged to pieces: but having thrown all the guns on one side overboard, and the tide flowing at the same time, she beat over the reef into a basin, and brought up in fourteen or fifteen fathoms; but she was so much damaged while on the reef, that imagining she would go to pieces every moment, we had contrived to wrench ourselves out of our irons, and applied to the captain to have mercy upon us, and suffer us to take our chance for the preservation of our lives; but it was all in vain: he was even so inhuman as to order us all to be put into irons again, though the ship was expected to go down every moment, being scarcely able to keep her under with all the pumps at work."*

The sufferings of the people on the sandy islet were very great, augmented, in the case of the prisoners, by the severity of the commander. They remained there several days, subsisting on the small allowance of two ounces of bread and a wine-glass of water, with no

* This letter, "an artless and pathetic tale," which is inserted in the "Eventful History," supplies many notices not to be found elsewhere. For instance, we see the ground of the statement made by the surgeon that "the prisoners were ordered to be let out of irons," which, though to a certain extent true, does not convey a distinct impression of what actually took place. Mr Heywood informs his mother that "the boats by this time had all been prepared; and as the captain and officers were coming upon the poop, or roof of our prison, to abandon the ship, we again implored his mercy; upon which he sent the corporal and an armourer down to let some of us out of irons, but three only were suffered to go up, and the scuttle being then clapped on, and the master of arms upon it, the armourer had only time to let two persons out of irons, the rest, except three, letting themselves out: two of these three went down with them on their hands, and the third was picked up."

shelter from the vertical sun. The captain had tents erected for himself and his crew; but when the mutineers petitioned him for an old sail which was lying useless, he refused it; and the only shelter they had was to bury themselves up to the neck in the burning sand, which scorched the skin entirely off their bodies. No care or precaution, however, could procure an exemption from pain and depression of spirits. Providentially a small barrel of water, a keg of wine, some biscuit, and a few muskets and cartouch-boxes had been thrown into the boat: but the stomachs of the men being filled with salt brine, from the long interval which elapsed before they were picked up, rendered their thirst quite intolerable, and no water was allowed to be served out the first day. By a calculation now made, it was ascertained that, by filling the compass-boxes and every other utensil they had, two small glasses of it could be allowed to each person during sixteen days. In the midst of the night they were disturbed by the irregular behaviour of one of the crew, which led them to suspect that he had stolen some of the wine and made himself drunk; but on further inquiry it was found that the excruciating torture he suffered from thirst had induced him to take sea-water, the consequence of which was madness in the first instance, and subsequent death. A small parcel of tea had been saved; of which, when it was boiled, every one took a salt-cellar spoonful and passed it to his neighbour, by which means "we moistened our mouths by slow degrees and received much refreshment from it." Nor was bread much more abundant than water. When they embarked on their voyage of eleven hundred miles to the island of Timor, a pair of wooden scales was made in each boat, and the weight of a musket ball was served out to each man.*

Pursuing their course along the shore of New Holland, they touched at several points in search of water, which, owing to the fierce character of the

* Hamilton, Voyage *round* the World, p. 115.

natives, they seldom procured without hazard. Berries and oysters added a little variety to their scanty meals, though the visitations of hunger were less appalling than the incessant thirst with which they were overwhelmed. The men who were engaged in steering the boats were often subject to a stroke of the sun; and the rest were continually employed wetting their shirts overboard, and putting them on their heads, which alleviated the scorching heat, to which, says the surgeon, we were entirely exposed, "most of us having lost our hats while swimming at the time the ship was wrecked. It may be observed," he adds, "that this method of wetting our bodies with salt water is not advisable, if the misery is protracted beyond three or four days, as after that time the great absorption from the skin, which takes place from the increased heat and fever, makes the fluids become tainted with the bittern of the salt water; so much so, that the saliva becomes intolerable in the mouth."*

On the 13th September, the land was observed, and the discoverer was immediately rewarded with a glass of water. On the 15th, they moored their boats opposite the fort of Coupang; and nothing could exceed the kindness of the governor, M[illegible]nheer Varion, i[illegible] affording to them relief and comfo[illegible] in their distress[illegible] condition. After remaining abo[illegible] three weeks th[illegible] embarked on board a Dutch Indi[illegible]an, and on the [illegible] October anchored at Samarang [illegible] the island of [illegible] It was with inexpressible pleasu[illegible] that they found [illegible] little tender at this port, after [illegible]aving relinquish[illegible] hope of its safety; and never [illegible]as social affectio[illegible] eminently portrayed than in [illegible]he meeting of [illegible] parties, both of whom had ma[illegible]e a narrow esc[illegible] the jaws of death. The boat'[illegible] crew related [illegible] night they parted company [illegible]ith the Pan[illegible] vages in their canoes attacked [illegible] them in reg[illegible] with great force. The circu[illegible]stance tha[illegible]

* Hamilton, [illegible] p. 125.

had never before seen a European ship, and their entire ignorance of firearms, made the conflict at once more severe and lasting; for not observing any missile weapon employed when their companions were killed, they did not suspect that they had received any injury when they fell into the water. The seven-barrelled pieces made great havoc amongst them. One of their leaders displayed so much agility as to leap over the boarding-netting, and was levelling his club at Mr Oliver, who commanded the schooner, when he was shot dead by his intended victim. Not finding the frigate next day, they steered for Anamooka, the rendezvous appointed by Captain Edwards. Their distress, arising from want of water, was, it appears, not less than that of their friends who had witnessed the loss of their ship; and so painful was the effect on one of the midshipmen that he became delirious. At length they reached Tofoaa, which they mistook for Anamooka, where they were involved in a contest with the natives, who endeavoured to deprive them of their small vessel. The superiority of weapons in this case, as in most others, compensated for want of numbers, and the savages were soon overpowered. After enduring much distress, and having to sustain similar encounters wherever they met inhabitants, they found themselves at the reef which runs between New Guinea and New Holland, through which, not without great difficulty and danger, they made their way. Soon after they had passed Endeavour Straits, they fell in with a small Dutch vessel, from the crew of which they received much kindness, and were conveyed by the master to a neighbouring settlement belonging to the same people. The governor, though not wanting in the usual offices of humanity, regarded the strangers with some degree of suspicion, chiefly because their boat was built of foreign timber; a circumstance which favoured his conjecture that they might be connected with the mutineers of the Bounty, a description of whom had been sent to all the European colonies in those seas by the English government. But

he satisfied himself with such precautions as did not interfere with their comfort or personal freedom; and, after a short delay, he sent them to Samarang, where they were found by their shipmates of the Pandora.

From Batavia, the principal town of the colony, Captain Edwards sailed with his people in a Dutch Indiaman to the Cape of Good Hope; at which place, finding the Gorgon, a ship of war, he removed himself and the prisoners on board of her and proceeded to Spithead, where he arrived on the 19th June 1792; having accomplished, in somewhat less than two years, a voyage round the world. It belongs not to our undertaking to give any account of the transactions which followed; the condemnation and subsequent pardon of Mr Heywood; and the execution of three of the seamen, Ellison, Burkitt, and Millward, which took place with due solemnity in Portsmouth harbour. Justice seems to have been throughout tempered with mercy; and the effect produced could not fail to strengthen the bands of discipline, and even to promote that spirit of allegiance which characterizes the British navy. The criminals, it is related, behaved with great penitence and decorum, acknowledged the justice of their sentence for the crime of which they had been found guilty, and exhorted their fellow-sailors to take warning by their untimely fate; entreating them, whatever might be their hardships, never to forget their obedience to their officers, as a duty they owed at once to their sovereign and their country.

The wreck of the Antelope on one of the Pelew Islands, and the intercourse which followed between the benevolent natives and the strangers who were thus cast upon their shores, are familiar to every class of readers in this country; no one being ignorant of the history of Prince Lee Boo, his amiable character, and melancholy death. The group in question was probably first made known to Europeans by those Spaniards who, having settled in the Philippine Isles, applied to it the term Palos, with reference to the tall palms which meet the eye when approaching the shore, and have, at a little

distance, the appearance of numerous masts. The court of Madrid, eager to appropriate all the insular domains in the Northern Pacific, and to add them to the sovereignty of the church, appears to have sent at different times a succession of missionaries, who might at once reveal to the inhabitants the knowledge of Christianity, and a due reverence for the authority of the most catholic king. It is equally manifest, however, that the subjects of Philip did not establish themselves in the Pelew cluster, either in the sixteenth or seventeenth century. The father Cantova, who wrote from Agadna in 1722, states that the Caroline archipelago was divided into five provinces, of which the Palos group constituted one; but he adds, that the strangers from whom he had derived all his information, did not pretend to have had any communication with the aborigines, who, it was understood, were inhuman and savage in a very great degree. It was even asserted that both men and women, who were entirely naked, fed upon human flesh; and hence, that the people of the Philippine colonies looked on them with horror as the enemies of mankind, and as a race with whom it would be most dangerous to hold any intercourse. The reader, therefore, will not be surprised to learn that the Pelew Islands were utterly neglected by the Spanish government, who seem not to have known any thing more concerning them than that they occupied a space in the vast ocean which washes at once the shores of Asia and of America.

The Antelope, a packet of about three hundred tons, in the service of the East India Company, sailed from Macao in the month of July 1783. After being two weeks at sea, the weather became so bad that the commander, Captain Wilson, appears to have lost his reckoning; and accordingly, on the night of the 10th August, he found himself dashed on a reef in the neighbourhood of an unknown island distinguished in those eastern parts by the name of Oroolong. A boat was sent ashore, both with the view of landing such things as could be saved from the wreck, and of ascertaining the

character of the natives, if any should be found on the coast. Meantime, as the vessel was expected every hour to go to pieces, the men employed themselves in constructing a raft; intending to form an encampment on the beach, until other means could be obtained for accomplishing their return to a civilized country. It was not till the second day that any of the inhabitants made their appearance. On the morning of the 12th, two canoes, having eight individuals on board, approached the place where the seamen had pitched their tents, and one of them, a brother of the king, as was afterwards known, inquired who the strangers were, and the reason of their landing. The captain replied, through one of his people who understood the Malay tongue, that they were "unfortunate Englishmen who had lost their ship upon the reef, and were their friends." This brief account was sufficient to interest the feelings and secure the good offices of the generous islanders, who immediately invited part of the refugees to repair to the residence of the sovereign, whose aid they confidently promised.*

In compliance with this request, Mr Wilson sent his own brother, who was one of the ship's company, to Pelew, the island where his majesty dwelt; and meanwhile, Raa Kook, one of the royal family and commander-in-chief, with three others, remained as voluntary hostages, manifesting not the slightest suspicion nor any personal fear. This amiable chief, indeed, showed a perfect satisfaction with what our countrymen did for him; he endeavoured to accommodate himself to their manners; sat at table as they did, instead of squatting on

* See p. 26 of "An Account of the Pelew Islands, situated in the western Part of the Pacific Ocean: composed from the Journals and Communications of Captain Henry Wilson and some of his Officers, who, in August 1783, were there shipwrecked in the Antelope, a Packet belonging to the Honourable East India Company. By George Keate, Esq., F.R.S. and S.A." London, 1789, 8vo.

It is worthy of notice that the natives also had with them a Malay, a person who, besides his own language, spoke a little Dutch and some words of English.

the ground; and this pleasing disposition induced every one to return the affection which evidently warmed his own breast. As his wardrobe contained nothing beyond the gifts of nature, he was presented with trousers and a uniform coat; and moved by the feeling of politeness which sprung from his innate sense of propriety, he forthwith put them on, not a little pleased in appearing like his new friends; but finding the heat and restraint of dress rather inconvenient, he relinquished the distinction of European clothing, and deposited the laced jacket in his little museum of foreign curiosities.

Besides Raa Kook, the king, whose name was Abba Thule, had another brother named Arra Kooker, who returned from Pelew with the younger Wilson. At length his majesty himself appeared, attended by a small squadron of canoes, having thought it his duty to welcome the unfortunate mariners to his dominions, and to offer them all the aid in his power. He assured the captain that he was at perfect liberty to build a vessel, either at the place where he then was, or at the other island; adding, at the same time, that Oroolong was thought to be unhealthy; that his people might be sickly if they stayed on it during the prevailing wind, which would not change till after two moons; and besides, that he might possibly be molested by the inhabitants of some of the neighbouring islands who were at war with Pelew, and would not spare any who were under his protection. The Englishman, duly sensible of the considerate kindness which placed this alternative in his hands, gave a preference to the position he then occupied, on the ground that he was much nearer the wreck, whence he derived the principal part of his materials as well as the necessary stores.

But an occasion soon presented itself which proved that, however generous were the sentiments of the king and his royal brothers, their minds were not quite fortified against the approach of jealousy. The prime minister had solicited and obtained a cutlass from Captain Wilson, and on coming out of the tent Raa Kook saw it

in his hand. A decided coldness towards the English was the immediate result. It was stated as a ground of complaint that a valuable weapon had been given to one who was almost a stranger, whilst the king's brothers, who had been with them all the time on the island, had never had any thing of such consequence presented to them. Some gifts were accordingly expected which might place the family of Abba Thule on a footing of equality with the chief counsellor. On this hint, the captain offered each of the kinsmen a remnant of cloth, which they both received very coolly; he afterwards gave them a piece of long white cloth and some ribands, but still not a smile appeared on their faces. In the afternoon of the same day, Wilson was informed that the king was come round into the bay, being on his return home, and if he wanted to take leave of him he must go off to his canoe. He accordingly went in the jolly-boat, having with him the linguist and four other men. To his surprise and vexation the meeting was not only constrained, but apparently ungracious on the part of the sovereign, very unlike that undisguised frankness which used to distinguish their interviews. Nevertheless, it afterwards appeared that the affront occasioned by the donation of the cutlass was not the sole cause of this change in the royal demeanour. His majesty wished to ask a favour; and it is imagined, considering the kindness he had conferred upon his visiters, and the predicament in which they were now placed, he feared that a request might seem to convey the obligation of a command. Being about to engage in battle with a formidable enemy, he begged that the captain would allow a few of his men to accompany him in the enterprise armed with their muskets. Wilson instantly replied that the English were as his own people, and that the enemies of the king were their enemies; upon which every countenance, before overshadowed with doubt or suspicion, became bright and gay. Nearly the whole crew volunteered in the service of Thule; but the number being restricted to five, the favoured individuals pre-

pared for embarkation, dressed in blue jackets, cocked hats, with light blue cockades, and properly supplied with arms and ammunition. Several skirmishes took place, in which the skill and prowess of his allies secured for the governor of Pelew a decided victory, and compelled his enemies, the people of Artingall, to sue for peace.

In one of the actions, Raa Kook lost a son, a brave youth who had been severely wounded in a previous engagement. The funeral was conducted without any ceremony; but next morning the commander took Mr Sharp, the surgeon of the Antelope, who had given his professional services, to the place where the body was interred. They entered a house at a little distance, where only one old woman was sitting, who, on receiving some order from the general, immediately disappeared, and soon after returned with two old cocoa-nuts, a bundle of betel-nuts with the leaves, and some red ochre. He took up one of the cocoa-nuts, crossed it with the ochre transversely, and then placed it on the ground by his side. After sitting some time in a very pensive attitude, he repeated certain words which appeared to be a kind of prayer, as he was a good deal agitated: he then performed the same ceremony with the second cocoa-nut, and afterwards crossing the bunch of betel-nuts, he sat as before thoughtfully over it. Having finished his proceedings, he called the old woman, and delivered into her hands the two cocoas, as also the bundle of betel-nuts, accompanied with some directions. Mr Sharp and his companion, seeing her go towards the young man's grave, were inclined to follow her in order to observe the conclusion of the rites in which the general had been engaged; but, recollecting the circumstances in which the distressed father was placed, they resolved not to trespass on his feelings by manifesting any desire for farther information.

The month of November had now arrived, and the little vessel on which the cares of the crew had been so long expended was approaching completion. From some

circumstances which are not clearly related, the greater number of the men were seized with the apprehension that the king, who knew the value of their co-operation in peace and in war, would not allow them to depart. They had even proceeded so far as to concert a plan for the assassination of the chiefs, whose death they concluded would throw confusion and dismay among the lower orders, who would not be able to maintain any formidable resistance. "As the faithful historian of these transactions," says Captain Wilson, "it is my duty to record every material occurrence, though I must confess that my hand shrinks from the paper whilst, impressed with horror and pity, I am compelled to relate that the lives first intended to be devoted were those of the humane, liberal king, the manly and benevolent general, the facetious and inoffensive Arra Kooker." But this phrensy, suggested by anxiety and despair, was of very short duration; the cool reflections of the ensuing night weakened their apprehensions to such a degree that with the morning their wonted good-will to the natives returned, and the captain found no difficulty in manning the pinnace to convey to Pelew all the iron and tools they could spare, in fulfilment of a promise he had made to their benefactor. Mr Sharp, who accompanied the party, was instructed to say that the English wished to see Abba Thule and his chiefs before their departure, that they might express their personal acknowledgments, and assure him that, when they returned to their own country, they would publicly declare the kind services and protection they had received at his hands.

At the interview which followed, the king raised Captain Wilson to the station of a prince by conferring upon him the order of the Bone, a species of rude bracelet worn on the arm. When the ceremony was concluded, his majesty in a formal address reminded him that "the bone should be rubbed bright every day, and preserved as a testimony of the rank he held amongst them; and that this mark of dignity must, on every

occasion, be defended valiantly, nor suffered to be torn from him but with the loss of life."

Several individuals wished to accompany the crew to Europe, actuated not only by a regard for the strangers on whom they had bestowed so much hospitality, but more especially by the desire of learning the arts which gave to the latter a decided superiority over them. In every instance the proposal to make the voyage was coolly received, except in the case of the king's second son Lee Boo, for whom his father was desirous to procure all the advantages which might arise from seeing distant countries in a high state of civilisation. He was aware, he said, that when his boy got to England, he would have such fine things to see, he might chance to slip away from the captain and run after novelty; but he hoped he would keep the youth as much as he could under his own eye, and moderate the eagerness incident to his time of life. "I could wish you," he continued, "to inform Lee Boo of all things which he ought to know, and make him an Englishman. The subject of parting with my son, I have frequently revolved: I am well aware that the distant countries he must go through, differing much from his own, may expose him to dangers as well as to diseases which are unknown to us here, in consequence of which he may die: I have prepared my thoughts for this: I know that death is to all men inevitable, and whether my son meets this event at Pelew or elsewhere is immaterial. I am satisfied from what I have observed of the humanity of your character, that if he is sick, you will be kind to him; and should that happen which your utmost care cannot prevent, let it not hinder you, or your brother, or your son, or any of your countrymen from returning here: I shall receive you or any of your people in friendship, and rejoice to see you again."

This address, when associated with the fate of the prince, who, it is well known, soon fell a victim to an infectious disease, the smallpox, cannot fail to be considered extremely interesting, and in some degree

prophetic of the evil which he had most to dread. On the 12th November, Wilson, in his little vessel, named the Oroolong, took leave of the gentle savages, whose existence he first brought to light, and proceeded on his voyage to China. Next month, he with his young charge embarked at Canton on board the Morse, Captain Elliott, who in the most friendly manner accommodated them with a passage to England.*

The names by which the several members of the Palos group are known to the natives, taking them in their order from the northward, are Emungs, Aramalorgoo, Emillegue, Arraguy, Coorooraa, Caragaba, Pethnel, and Oroolong, or Englishmen's Island. The modern nomenclature is somewhat different, but the mode of pronunciation is not precisely ascertained. In regard to the physical qualities of the natives, it is stated that they are of a deep copper colour; of a middle stature, very straight and muscular; and walk in a manner particularly majestic. Their skins are very soft and glossy, owing, it is said, to the frequent use of cocoa-nut oil.†

When compared with the other inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean, whether north or south of the equator, they will be found to possess a manifest superiority in

* Keate's Pelew Islands, p. 308. Before Captain Wilson left the cove at Oroolong, he hoisted the English pendant on a large tree which grew close to where the tents had stood; and cut upon a plate of copper the following inscription, which, after being nailed to a thick board, was affixed to a tree near the spot where the crew had built their little sloop:

The Honourable
English East India Company's Ship
The Antelope,
Henry Wilson, Commander,
Was lost upon the reef north of this island
In the night between the 9th and 10th of August;
Who here built a vessel,
And sailed from hence
The 12th day of November 1783.

† Keate, p. 321, remarks that Pelew is not an island, but merely the capital of the one known to Captain Wilson under the name of Coorooraa.

manners, disposition, and moral principle. Nothing was more remarkable than the decorum which attended the intercourse of the two sexes in the ordinary transactions of life. For example, it is related that all classes rose at daylight, and immediately afterwards proceeded to bathe in fresh water; but it is added, the men and the women went to separate bathing-places, and if a male was led by his business near those appropriated to the females, he was obliged to make some particular halloo, which if answered by a female voice, he could not go on; he was obliged either to turn another way, or wait till the women who were bathing left the water. In the arts they appear not to have made greater progress than the natives of the Society cluster when first visited by Wallis, and afterwards by Cook. No aid had yet been obtained from the assistance of iron tools, and therefore it could not be expected that their domestic implements should be either numerous or perfect. Their canoes and weapons bore a great resemblance to those which are found in all the insular sovereignties, from Easter Island to the shores of New Caledonia; the former composed of the trunk of a single tree, and the latter manufactured from a kind of timber, at once hard and heavy, and inlaid with ornamental shells.

On the head of religion, we find little in the details supplied by Captain Wilson, which could justify a general conclusion either as to their belief or usages. There was not found any place appropriated to devotional exercises, nor were the people ever observed to set apart a portion of their time to the service of invisible beings. But it was remarked by the commander of the Antelope, that when he assembled his crew on a Sunday evening to read prayers to them, the natives who were present expressed no surprise at what was doing; appearing clearly to understand that it was the mode in which the English addressed the God to whom they looked for protection. However different their own notions might be, they attended on those occasions with

great respect, seeming desirous to join in the sacred offices, and preserving the most decorous silence. After Lee Boo had been some time in this country, Captain Wilson told him that saying prayers at church was to make men good, that when they died and were buried they might live again above—pointing to the sky. The prince replied with great earnestness, "All same Pelew—bad men stay in earth; good men go into sky; become very beautiful,"—holding his hand in the air, and giving a fluttering motion to his fingers; thereby conveying the strongest belief he could express that the spirit exists when the body is no more. There were not, however, any human sacrifices to propitiate the offended divinities or to avert a threatened calamity; no taboo was witnessed to effect a political object or to punish a suspected chief; and no property was confiscated for the public use, merely because it had been touched by the sacro-sanct person of the monarch.

The general character of the Pelew islanders was mild and considerate in the highest degree. Their conduct towards the people of the Antelope was uniformly courteous and attentive, accompanied with a politeness which surprised even the least sensitive among them. At all times they seemed so cautious of intruding, that, on many occasions, they sacrificed their natural curiosity to a feeling of respect for the unfortunate condition of the strangers. Their liberality, too, at the departure of our countrymen manifested an uncommon extent of generosity, considering their narrow means; and when the sailors, from want of stowage, were compelled to refuse the farther marks of kindness which were offered them, the entreating eyes and supplicating gestures with which the simple folk solicited their acceptance of what they had brought, most forcibly expressed how much their minds were wounded upon finding that they had not arrived early enough to have their little tributes of affection received. The only features which seemed common to their character and that of the other natives of the South Sea, were the pro-

pensity to petty thieving, and the harsh treatment of their prisoners taken in the field of battle. On the former, indeed, a check was imposed by the indignation of the higher orders; and for the latter an apology was suggested, if not strongly urged, by the chiefs.*

Leaving these interesting children of nature, we proceed to give a brief view of the discoveries of Mr Edmund Fanning, an American citizen, who, between the years 1792 and 1833, made several voyages round the world. As he was principally employed in the seal-fishery and other mercantile speculations, he could not devote himself to those scientific researches which give a peculiar interest to the volumes of the French navigators, and to those of the great Cook, Flinders, and Beechey. In 1798, when sailing near the equator, he observed a group of islands, to which he gave his own name, situated in latitude 3° 51′ 31″ S. and in longitude 159° 12′ 30″ W. from the meridian of Greenwich. He found in them abundance of wood and water, but no trace of inhabitants. A little afterwards he recognised the isle called Washington, which, he had reason to conclude, was occupied by a race similar to those who have established their families in nearly all the clusters of the Pacific.

It is proper to mention that Fanning did not personally share all the adventures he describes, nor conduct all the proceedings of which he is the historian. In some cases he was only proprietor of the ship in which the circumnavigation was performed, or directed the commercial interests embarked in the successive voyages under the flag of a joint-stock company. For example, when the brig Union attained the south antipodes, as the author is pleased to describe the natives of Norfolk Island, she was commanded by Captain Isaac Pendleton, whose melancholy death forms a dark episode in the narrative of American enterprise. After having collected no fewer than fourteen thousand seal-skins, he unwisely yielded to the solicitation of a merchant at

* Keate's Pelew Islands, p. 355-360.

Sydney, who prevailed on him to proceed to the Fijee Islands, to procure a cargo of sandal-wood for the Canton market. Having arrived at Tongataboo, Mr Pendleton went ashore to procure an interpreter, who might assist him in his negotiations with the neighbouring tribes, whose language none of his people understood; and the only intelligence ever received of him was to the effect that he, the whole boat's crew, and a mercantile agent from Australia, were murdered by the sanguinary inhabitants. On the following day, the second officer, Mr Wright, became alarmed, and his fears were farther increased by observing that the chiefs, while declining to go on board, endeavoured by signs to convince him that the captain wished an additional boat to be sent to the shore, to take off the hogs and other provisions collected for the ship. As he declined to comply with this insidious proposal, canoes filled with warriors began to crowd around the vessel on all sides, until at length the leaders became so bold that nothing short of a cannonade could prevent them from an actual attempt to take violent possession of her.

While so employed, both parties were surprised at the sight of a canoe, which was advancing with great rapidity from the shore, with a white woman on board standing at the bows. When within a certain distance of the brig, she leaped into the sea, and upon rising to the surface, she informed Mr Wright in a few words that the captain was murdered, and an attempt was about to be made to seize the Union. To protect this intrepid female from the fury of the natives, a volley of musketry was discharged upon them over her head, a measure which for a moment had the desired effect; but no sooner did they recover from their surprise than they commenced a most determined attack, regardless of the shot poured amongst them, and of the loss of life which they thereby sustained. A fiend-like rage seemed to goad them on in their efforts to take the ship, cost what it might; for which reason, the commander ordered the cables to be cut, and sail to be made, unwilling to occa-

sion a farther sacrifice of life in a contest where the most complete triumph could bring no honour. The woman then detailed at greater length the circumstances in which Pendleton and his followers were assassinated, as well as the plan which was formed for destroying the whole crew, and capturing the vessel. In order to escape, and save, if possible, the remainder of the people, she persuaded the chiefs to believe, that if she were allowed to go in the canoe with the men who had undertaken to induce Mr Wright to send another boat ashore, she would most certainly succeed, and thereby place the ship and cargo in their hands. She farther related that she had arrived in the island on board a ship called the Duke of Portland; and that the savages, instigated by a European named Doyle, and a Malay previously left there, had massacred every one on board, with the exception of herself, another female, and four boys, whose lives were saved in order that they might assist in decoying other merchantmen which should happen to approach their coast.*

The brig Hersilia, under the command of James Sheffield, proceeded, in 1819, on a fishing and exploring voyage, which is important on no other account than because the master made an attempt to confer on Fanning the honour of having his name associated with certain islands known as South Shetland. After attaining the latitude of 63°, nearly in the longitude of Cape Horn, he saw one morning, to his great joy, a round mountainous island covered with snow, although in February, the last of the summer months. From its singular form, it was named Pisgah; and upon a nearer approach, more land was observed stretching towards the east, of a craggy and forbidding aspect, and composing the insular group already mentioned. The American was not ignorant that this dreary settlement had been visited by an English ship more than a year before; but

* Voyages round the World; with selected Sketches of Voyages to the South Seas, North and South Pacific Oceans, China, &c. By Edmund Fanning, 8vo, New York, 1833, p. 322.

as the rights of a still earlier discovery belonged to the Dutch, who had not availed themselves of their privilege, he considered himself entitled to supersede, in favour of his friend at New York, the name given to it by the British seaman.

It is well known that the idea of a great southern continent, or Terra Australis, was fondly cherished by philosophers about the close of last century. But as the Antarctic Ocean, in as high a latitude as the climate permitted access, had been carefully examined by Cook and subsequent navigators without discovering any such land, it was naturally supposed that it did not exist. In the year 1819, however, this conclusion was partly undermined by an unexpected incident. Mr Smith, who commanded a vessel called the William, trading between the river Plate and Chili, was desirous to shorten as much as possible his passage round Cape Horn, and with this view shaped his course in a higher parallel than is usual in such voyages. Having perceived land in lat. 60° 30′, and in long. 60° W., he resolved to ascertain its extent and bearings. He ran in a westward direction along the coast, as he himself expresses it, "either of a continent or numerous islands, for two or three hundred miles," in which were large bays, abounding with the spermaceti whale, seals, and other amphibious animals. After taking numerous drafts and charts of the shore, he landed, took possession of the country in the name of his sovereign, and called his acquisition New South Shetland. The climate is said to be temperate, and the soil, though hilly, not entirely destitute of vegetation; presenting, in many places, firs, pines, and other trees of a similar order; and, on the whole, the aspect of this new region bore no small resemblance to that of Norway, as seen from the neighbouring ocean.

The intelligence of this discovery, associated with the fact that the shores abounded with whales and seals, quickly roused the commercial enterprise both of the British and the Americans. In the course of a short time numerous ships of both nations sailed thither; and

it was in consequence of the prospects now opened up, that the Hersilia was equipped under the auspices of Mr Fanning, whose name, in some maps, has actually usurped the place claimed for our country by the master of the brig William. Allusion has been made to the discovery of the same islands made by the Dutch in a former age. Dirck Gherritz, who commanded one of the five ships which sailed from Rotterdam in 1598 to make a western passage to India, was separated from his companions near Cape Horn, and carried by tempestuous weather as far as latitude 64° S., where he observed a high country covered with snow; and there can be no doubt that this was the group now under consideration. They seem to be a continuation of the great chain of the South American mountains, being for the most part precisely of the same formation, their strata even inclining the same way. But not the least remarkable of the South Shetland archipelago is that which bears the name of Deception Island, understood to be the most southerly of the whole. It is completely volcanic; and its circular crater bears a very strong resemblance to that in the island of Amsterdam, midway between the Cape of Good Hope and Australia. The shape of both, too, is so like that of the lagoons which are seen in most of the low coral islets scattered over the tropical portions of the Pacific Ocean, as to give some colour to the opinion that these extraordinary fabrics, the creation of minute worms, are generally based on the edges of submarine craters, rising sufficiently near the surface to allow these animalcules the requisite light and heat to carry on their wonderful operations.

Deception Island presents a different appearance from the rest of the group; the warmth of the soil and the blackness of the cinders giving it a peculiar aspect, while its rocks are denuded of the usual snowy mantle. On the south-eastern side is an opening of about six hundred feet in width, which affords an entrance to a kind of lake. This internal sea, as it may be described, is nearly circular, and above five miles across;

and as the diameter of the island itself is only eight miles, the land forms a ring round the water, in some places at once narrow and precipitous. The principal part of the island is composed of alternate layers of ashes and ice, as if the snow of each winter during a series of years had been prevented from melting in the following summer by the falling of ashes from some of the eminences where volcanic action is still in progress; and that such is the case, says an observer, "appears probable from the fact of there being at least a hundred and fifty holes from which steam was issuing with a loud hissing noise." The depth of the lake was ninety-seven fathoms, with a bottom of cinders; and the beach, composed of the same material, abounded with springs of hot water, which, at the temperature of 140°, was seen rising from beneath a surface deeply covered with snow, and rushing into a sea that rarely exceeded the freezing point. Alum was procured from some of these springs, and the lee shore of the lake was strewed with immense quantities of pumice-stone. The hills, of which the height was about one thousand eight hundred feet, were principally composed of scoria, tufa, and a red brick-like substance; but in some places, portions of obsidian and compact lava were also observed. The cliffs on the northern side of the entrance rise perpendicularly to the height of eight hundred feet, and appear to be of an older formation than the rest of the island.*

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* Fanning's Voyages, p. 433. Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. i. p. 62. We here refer to an Extract from the Private Journal of Lieutenant Kendal, R. N., of his Majesty's Sloop Chanticleer, communicated by Sir John Barrow.

The South Shetlands were visited by Mr Weddell, who in the years 1822-23-24 was employed in a fishing expedition in the South Sea, and who succeeded in reaching the latitude of 74° 15′; a higher parallel than had ever been attained. Mr Weddell mentions a circumstance which goes far to explain the popular figment of the mermaid, evidently founded on the varying appearances of the seal. "A creature was reported to have been seen by one of my crew, which, according to his account of it, must have been a nondescript. A boat's crew were employed on Hall Island, and the man who saw this animal was left on one side of the island to take care of some

It may seem unaccountable that land of this extent should not have been sooner discovered, and more especially considering the pains which were taken in the early part of the reign of George the Third to solve the problem relative to the great southern continent, supposed to extend into the frigid zone. But the surprise will cease when it is called to mind that, though Captain Cook penetrated much farther than to the latitude of New Shetland, the meridian on which he sailed was forty-five degrees farther to the west, and therefore that he must have left unexplored a large expanse of sea, on the parallel of 62° between that meridian and Sandwich Land, the longitude of which is 22° west. He again reached the latitude of 67° south; but this was in longitude from 137° to 147° west. Now the meridian of New South Shetland being 60° west, it is evident that, in his first attempt, he must have left unexamined the whole extent of longitude from 28° to 60°; and in his

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produce, while the officers and the rest of the crew were engaged on the other side. The sailor had gone to bed, and about ten o'clock he heard a noise resembling human cries, and as daylight in these latitudes never disappears at this season, he rose and looked around, but on seeing no person, he returned to bed: presently he heard the noise again, and rose a second time, but still saw nothing. Conceiving, however, the possibility of a boat being upset, and that some of the crew might be clinging to detached rocks, he walked round the beach a few steps, and heard the noise more distinctly, but in a musical strain. On searching round, he saw an object lying on a rock, a dozen yards from the shore, at which he was somewhat frightened. The face and shoulders appeared of human form, and of a reddish colour; over the shoulders hung long green hair; the tail resembled that of the seal, but the extremities of the arms he could not see distinctly. The creature continued to make a musical noise while he gazed about two minutes, and on perceiving him, it disappeared in an instant. Immediately when the man saw his officer, he told this wild tale, the truth of which was of course doubted; but to give weight to his testimony—being a Catholic—he made a cross on the sand, which he kissed in form of making oath to the truth of his statement.—He told them the story as I have related it, and in so clear and positive a manner, making oath as to the truth, that I concluded he must really have seen the animal he described, or that it must have been the effects of a disturbed imagination."—*Voyage towards the South Pole, &c.*, 8vo, 1825, p. 143.

second voyage, he was still farther from the position of the land seen by Dirck Gherritz, and visited by Captain Smith.

The voyage of Mr Turnbull round the world presents no great portion of matter interesting to the general reader, because the path which he pursued has been repeatedly followed by subsequent navigators, whose descriptions bring us much nearer to the actual condition of things. Discovery was not the object of his enterprise; nor was he stimulated by any desire to make himself acquainted with the manners, usages, and opinions of distant nations: on the contrary, he acknowledges that his views aspired no higher than to share in the advantages which the Americans were supposed to derive from their trade with China and her dependencies. Several gentlemen at home being induced to enter into a mercantile speculation, a new ship was procured, mounting ten carriage-guns and two swivels; the command of which was consigned to Mr Buyers, formerly first officer of the Barwell Indiaman, while the charge of the cargo was confided to himself.

In the latter end of May 1800, the Margaret, for such was the name of their vessel, proceeded on her voyage, and in due time reached Madeira, where she was brought to anchor. Encountering baffling winds in crossing the Atlantic, the master deemed it expedient to bear up for San Salvador, where he might procure the means of repairing damages, and adding to his stock of provisions. The city, which is described as large and populous, divides itself into two sections, according to the nature of the ground on which it stands; the upper town being placed on the summit of an eminence which commands an extensive prospect towards the ocean, including the bay and harbour of All Saints. Here are the residences of the viceroy, of the civil and military officers, as well as of the principal merchants; whilst the lower town, which contains the wharfs and storehouses, is chiefly occupied by tradesmen, adventurers, and petty dealers. The streets in many parts are so narrow that the persons

inhabiting the opposite sides could shake hands across from their respective balconies. As might be expected, the population consisted of various races, whites, mulattoes, and blacks, the last of whom being somewhat the most numerous.

On Sunday, the two Englishmen visited some of the churches, which they found in every respect corresponding to the genius of the Roman Catholic ritual, and to the wealth of the settlement; they were magnificently adorned, and the ornaments of the images appeared to be very valuable. They found moreover, "and though sailors, with some satisfaction," that there was one country in the world in which religion was held fashionable; the places of worship being crowded with all ranks of people, from the meanest slave to his Excellency the governor himself. It was not without difficulty that they obtained a seat in the principal church; where, they acknowledge, their eyes were in some measure diverted from the preacher to the figure of the holy virgin. She was arrayed in gold and jewels, with the prince of Brazil, as large as life, on her right hand. The bishop of the province, the second man in the country, gave the sermon, in which he addressed himself chiefly to the great, and lashed their vices in a style of freedom on which a more humble functionary would scarcely have ventured. On the conclusion of the service, the image of the virgin, with her attendant the prince, was carried in procession through the streets of the city, the ladies, in their best attire, saluting her from the windows, and showering chaplets upon her head.

It is confessed by the author that the captain, through his seeming inattention to this sacred mummery, was not looked upon with a good eye, and that "his impiety called down upon him a severe reprimand." The sums exacted from the people for the support of the several religious establishments, would astonish a native of Great Britain, where, for the most part, charity implores, rather than commands on the pain of ecclesiastical censure. Not a day passes in San Salvador that some sturdy

mendicants do not parade the squares, streets, and market-places, demanding a contribution for their own maintenance, or for the sustentation of those intrusted to their care. They have no respect whatever to any difference of condition or circumstances; they go every where, and usually succeed every where; they use their sacred functions as instruments of menace; and not unfrequently punish a refusal by a solemn malediction. The churches and convents are perhaps more acceptable to the people, because they are almost the only places where ladies of condition can appear without any restraint; who, it is said, whenever they find a suitable opportunity, employ them with great zeal in making converts for the Romish religion.

The remark made by Mr Turnbull forty years ago is not inapplicable at the present hour to many portions of the Brazilian territory, though under the government of a European state, where the elements of improvement are not quite unknown. "This beautiful country, blest by nature with every capability of becoming great and opulent, possesses all these advantages in vain; they are rendered useless by the invincible indolence of the inhabitants."*

In respect to New South Wales we learn nothing which at so great a distance of time can appear in the least degree interesting, with the exception, perhaps, of the miserable condition in which the natives were found by the British settlers. They are indeed universally acknowledged to be the most barbarous race on the face of the earth, and to have profited nothing from their intercourse with Europeans. In vain did the officers of the colony endeavour to improve their circumstances, and induce them to wear at least so much clothing as to meet the claims of decency. They persisted in the en-

* A Voyage round the World in the Years 1800-1804, in which the Author visited Madeira, the Brazils, Cape of Good Hope, the English Settlements of Botany Bay and Norfolk Island, and the principal Islands in the Pacific Ocean, &c.; by John Turnbull, 4to, London, 1813, p. 37.

joyment of liberty after their own fashion, and turned a deaf ear to every remonstrance on the subject of their primitive usages.

Nor is this indifference to be imputed to want of perception, or even a certain degree of intellectual acuteness. They have, more especially, a very quick eye for detecting peculiarities in voice or manner; and they can mimic the walk, gait, and looks of all the Europeans they have seen in authority with so much exactness, as to afford a kind of historical register of their several actions and characters. If there be any thing particular in the soldiers, or even in the convicts,—any cast of the eye or awkwardness in the motion, any trip or strut, any stammering or thick speaking,—they catch it in a moment, and represent it so accurately as to render it impossible not to recognise the original. They are moreover great proficients in the Newgate slang which they hear used among the condemned labourers; and when provoked to a quarrel, they are by no means inferior to them in abuse. But this is the amount of their acquisitions from European intercourse; for in every other respect they appear incapable of improvement, and even of change. They are still as unprotected as before against the inclemencies of the weather and the attacks of famine, the inseparable attendants of a savage life. In their persons they are exceedingly meagre; their skins are scarified in every part; their faces are besmeared with shell-lime and red gum; their hair is matted like a mop, and stuck full of sharks' teeth; and a piece of wood like a skewer is fixed in the cartilage of the nose. In a word, take them all in all, they constitute the most unintellectual and disgusting tribe on the face of the earth.

One redeeming quality they do possess, that, namely, of personal courage; and in their pitched battles or individual encounters, they display the most determined bravery, defending themselves against the spears of their assailants by opposing only a shield of thick bark. Previously to their onset, they join in a kind of song, and

gradually increase the noise till they work themselves up into a phrensy, their countenances being in the meantime convulsed with rage, and every feature giving a fearful expression to the vindictive feelings which rise in their minds. Their weapons are thrown with such force as to pierce the bucklers through and through; but, though they must suffer the sharpest pain in extracting them, such is their patience, or rather their utter insensibility, that they bear it unmoved, and rarely flee from the field of battle.

They sleep in the open air with only the canopy of heaven for a covering, or in some wretched hut which affords but little shelter from the fierceness of the storms which occasionally rage in that latitude. In wet weather they retreat to caverns in the rocks, and having lighted a fire at the entrance, remain in their comfortless retreat till the tempest has ceased. Nevertheless so much attached are they to the enjoyment of their wild freedom, that it has been found next to impossible to wean them from it. The governor, who had by an innocent stratagem got one of the warriors into his hands, endeavoured to reconcile him to the habits of civilized life: he lavished on him every attention and kindness, gave him good clothes and the best food, brought him with him to England, where he received the utmost attention from distinguished individuals in the fashionable world; but all his cares proved fruitless. No sooner was the savage relanded in his own country than he laid aside all the ornaments and improvements he had received during his travels, and returned, as if with increased enjoyment, to his former loathsome usages. He threw away his clothes as burdensome restraints upon his limbs, displayed his ancient appetite for raw meat, and in all respects became as rude as if he had never left his native wilderness.

Another trial was made by a humane gentleman who procured two infants, a boy and a girl; considering that such an early commencement gave him the best chance of success. The children were carefully brought up; accustomed to the mode of living common among Euro-

peans; were dressed like other young persons in the station of their benefactor, and sedulously formed to all the habits of improved society. But in this case, too, the experiment failed; for when they had attained the age of twelve, and were allowed to make a choice, they rejected without hesitation the enjoyments to which they had been accustomed, and returned to their people to share their famine, nakedness, and cold. Hence some writers have proceeded so far as to maintain that a New Hollander is physically incapable of civilisation; a conclusion which has not hitherto been materially invalidated by a more enlarged experience.

From Port Jackson, the author proceeded to Norfolk Island, which he describes as a delightful spot, the whole face of the country being covered with a deep green verdure, and presenting a scene of the most exuberant fertility. It was somewhat unfortunate that a spot so highly favoured by nature should have been used as a convict station subsidiary to Botany Bay; the more profligate and dangerous of the criminals being sent thither as an additional punishment. At first it was imagined that the flax-plant was a native of the island, an advantage which would have been inestimable had experience verified the report. In other respects, the cultivator of the soil will sustain no disappointment, for, without the aid of any manure, it yields two full harvests every year; one of wheat, which is reaped in October, and a second of maize, which is ready for pulling in April, the season when the former is sown. The aloe grows spontaneously in many parts of the settlement, and some of the smaller plantations are fenced round with sugar-canes. Of trees, the pine is the most abundant, some of them measuring from a hundred to a hundred and eighty feet in height, and from eighteen to twenty feet in circumference. Were their quality equal to their growth, they would prove very valuable for the purposes of shipbuilding; but the pines of all warm climates are of a nature very different from those

of Europe, being brittle and quite incapable of sustaining a heavy pressure.

It is not concealed by the navigator, that Norfolk Island labours under several disadvantages, besides the more obvious ones of a stormy sea and an almost inaccessible coast. The want of a harbour must prove a great impediment to its prosperity; and as the bottom all around is covered with pointed fragments of sharp coral, it is impossible to secure a ship by any species of mooring. Hence it has repeatedly happened, that vessels from Port Jackson have beat off and on, unable to advance and unwilling to return, upwards of a month, and still as distant as ever from all chance of communication with the shore. This difficulty of access gave rise to the observation of a French captain, that the island was only fit to be inhabited by eagles or angels. It is farther to be regretted that since the surface has been comparatively cleared of wood, a strong wind from the eastward frequently brings a blight, the effect of which is too often proved in the general destruction of the harvest. These circumstances suggested to the governor the expediency of abandoning the colony altogether; a resolution which was partially realized in the year 1805, but on terms perfectly equitable to the owners of land, who elsewhere found a full compensation both for their stock and their territory.

From New Holland the captain of the Margaret proceeded to the Society Islands, where the inhabitants received him with apparent kindness, and forthwith laid plans for pilfering and murder. At Uliatea also the crew made a narrow escape from assassination; the result of a plot formed by the natives in conjunction with several deserters, originally convicts at Sydney. Late one evening, an alarm was given that the vessel was drifting ashore; and it was soon discovered that both the cables were cut, while a large body of men were ready to take advantage of the disaster which they had used such means to produce. Providentially there was

not a breath of wind, otherwise the ship must have speedily gone to pieces, for she lay with her broadside against a reef of coral rocks, the edges of which were as sharp as flints, the depth of the sea being not less than twelve fathoms. The seamen on board, having quarrelled with the inhabitants, were perfectly aware that they could expect no mercy at their hands, and therefore they exerted themselves with the utmost vigour to accomplish a rescue from their perilous situation. At this crisis the author makes a remark, suggested to him by long experience, in regard to the character of English sailors; observing that, however discontented they may be on other accounts, there is in their breasts a generous sentiment, which, in cases of difficulty and danger, retains them to their duty. Thus it not unfrequently happened that symptoms of mutiny were restrained by the appearance of an enemy, when, with one mind, they united to defend their officers and to support the honour of their country. Very different were the feelings of the savages who surrounded the Margaret. When they saw that, by means of an anchor carried out in the long-boat, she had been hauled seven or eight fathoms from the reef, they gave vent in the most furious manner to their rage and disappointment. Hitherto they had maintained a profound silence, in the expectation that, when she bulged on the rocks, they might commence their plunder without any resistance on the part of the crew; but now, finding their hopes disappointed, they began a general assault, throwing stones with such force and in such quantities, that it was necessary to have recourse to the guns in order to intimidate them. A discharge from the swivels and muskets produced in return a volley of shot from the natives, who had stationed themselves at different points along the shore. Even the advance of daylight did not put an end to the contest, the assailants, who were in possession of firearms, considering themselves as in every respect equal to the company of a merchantman. They were sufficiently acquainted with the use of guns

to watch the motions of our countrymen on board, and when the latter were ready to fire, they suddenly skulked behind the rocks and trees, which afforded to them a complete shelter. The stumps and clefts likewise served them for another purpose, which, in the hands of better soldiers, might have been of most fatal effect to their enemy. Resting their muskets on these supports, they took a deliberate aim, and must inevitably have killed all the English, one by one, had they possessed the full knowledge of their weapons; but fortunately, says the supercargo, "their awkwardness was more than a sufficient balance to their other advantages." The issue of the conflict was still doubtful when, towards the close of the second day, the wind shifted gently round and blew from the land, which furnished Captain Buyers with an opportunity of getting away unperceived in the night.*

The history of this attack proves that the warriors of the South Sea can no longer be intimidated by the firing of a gun over their heads, or even by an array of musketeers on the deck of a ship. Traders have supplied them with weapons, powder, and shot, while deserters, both Americans and Europeans, teach them how to render all these advantages available.

We purposely abstain from following Mr Turnbull from one group to another of the South Sea Islands, because the information he supplies, though worthy of entire confidence, has been quite superseded by the details of more recent voyagers. His estimate of the native character is at once correct and candid. In comparing the people of the Sandwich cluster with the several tribes in the Society and Friendly Isles, he justly gives a preference to the former, who, from their ambitious views and active habits, are much more capable of improvement. Alluding to the missionaries in the dominions of Pomare, whom he pronounces to have been a complete hypocrite, he foresaw not the success

* A Voyage round the World, &c. p. 180.

which has since attended their labours. From the evident advantage which the royal family derived from their partnership with the teachers, it was manifest that the encouragement afforded to them by the king was wholly political. Those pious persons, indeed, neglected nothing which could render their mission successful, traversing the country every Sabbath in different directions and in small parties; but, though the inhabitants esteemed them as good men, they did not comprehend, and did not profess to believe, the articles of their religion. One day, when the sovereign was present at an exhortation, he sent for Mr Turnbull, to whom, after the departure of the expounders, he put this question "whether it was all true they had preached?" The Englishman replied in the affirmative; asserting that it was strictly true, according to his own belief, and that of all the wiser and better part of his countrymen. "He demanded where Jehovah lived: I pointed to the heavens. He said, he did not believe it." His brother was, if possible, still worse. Edeah, the queen, was looking on with a haughty and disdainful indifference. They repeated it was all "havery" or falsehood; adding that they would not believe unless they could see; "and observed, we could bring down the sun and moon by means of our quadrant, why could we not bring down the Redeemer by a similar operation?"

Viewed in the light of a mercantile speculation, the voyage of the Margaret appears to have been entirely unsuccessful. Her cargo was taken to an overstocked market, and she was finally lost on the shores of Otaheite, where hardly any thing was saved, and whence the crew made a very narrow escape. At length, in March 1804, Mr Turnbull embarked at Port Jackson on board the Calcutta in very ill health, brought on by hardship and fatigue, and in due time obtained sight of his native land, from which he had been absent more than four years.

CHAPTER IV.

Baudin, Freycinet, Duperrey, D'Urville, Bougainville, and La Place.

Objects of French Government in Voyages of Discovery—Appointment of Baudin and Hamelin to the Géographe and Naturaliste—Great Preparations for scientific Researches—Disingenuousness of the Commanders—New Names given to former Discoveries—Base Conduct of De Caen to Captain Flinders—Generous Conduct of Great Britain to the Officers of the French Ships—Captain Freycinet appointed to the Uranie—Rio Janeiro, the Cape of Good Hope, and Mauritius described—He arrives at New Holland—Account of Timor—Examines the Caroline and Marian Islands—Visits the Sandwich Group—Repairs to Port Jackson—Overtaken by a Storm near the Strait of Le Maire—Loses his Ship at the Falkland Islands—Duperrey sails in the Coquille—Touches at Chili and Peru—Proceeds to the Society Islands—Description of New Ireland—Arrives at Sydney—Steers for the Bay of Islands—Made valuable Additions to the Knowledge of the Magnetic Principle as applied to Navigation—Expedition under Captains Ross and Crozier to the Antarctic Regions—Remarkable Soundings made by Captain Ross—Dumont d'Urville obtains Command of the Astrolabe—Instructed to make search for La Perouse—Notice by Dillon—D'Urville proceeds to Vanikoro, where the Remains of the Wrecks were found—Proceeds to New Zealand—Examines the Northern Coast of New Guinea and the Southern Portion of New Britain—Bougainville the Younger is sent on a similar Expedition in Command of the Thetis and Espérance—The Object was to show the French Flag in the Indian and Chinese Seas, and to promote the Interests of Commerce—La Place, who succeeds him in these Pursuits, makes interesting Remarks on the European Colonies in the Indian Archipelago—Concluding Remarks.

Introducing to the attention of the European reader the successful labours of his countrymen on the ocean, the editor of a collection of voyages recently published at Paris remarks, that France saw accomplished, in the

latter half of the eighteenth century, the glorious circumnavigations of Bougainville, of La Perouse, D'Entrecasteaux, and Marchand; and that she has in the opening of the nineteenth assumed with becoming dignity her place in the rank of maritime nations. While Napoleon, he adds, was triumphing in the field of Marengo, and subjecting Italy to his arms, an expedition which he had sent into the Pacific, under the command of Captain Baudin, was exploring the coasts of New Holland, that fifth continent, of which the extent equals at least the whole of Europe. Somewhat later, Captain Freycinet, who had taken part in the former enterprise, assumed the direction of another on a much greater scale. After him comes Captain Duperrey, whose voyage produced the incalculable advantage of fixing in a certain manner the position of those thousands of islands which had been passed by Roggewein and many other navigators; all of whom, believing that they were the first who observed them, have in succession given such a variety of names as to render our knowledge of the several groups at once difficult and obscure. To Duperrey succeeded Dumont D'Urville, to whom science is indebted for some valuable details on New Holland and New Guinea, and humanity for the discovery of the wrecks of La Perouse's ships.*

It is well known that Bonaparte no sooner found himself possessed of supreme authority than he announced his intention of procuring for France ships, colonies, and commerce. These he regarded as the main source of that power, on land and at sea, by which Great Britain defeated his plans for universal dominion; and therefore, without duly estimating the character of the people whom he had undertaken to rule, he resolved to extend the basis of the sovereignty to which the success of his

* Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, &c. Par M. Albert-Montémont, Paris, 1834, tome xviii., pp. 1, 2. We are not insensible to the value of Captain D'Urville's labours, though we claim permission to doubt whether science and humanity were placed by him under any particular obligations.

arms had raised him. In pursuance of these views, a voyage of discovery was projected; and an application for passports being made to the English government, they were, with a degree of liberality not always reciprocated by the military chief, readily granted. Two ships, the Géographe and the Naturaliste, were accordingly prepared, and placed under the command of M. Baudin, an officer who had been formerly employed in collecting specimens of natural history in Louisiana, and was in all respects well fitted for the duty to which he was appointed. The latter vessel was put under the charge of M. Hamelin, who enjoyed considerable reputation as a seaman; and both sailed from Havre on the 17th October 1800.

Among the various articles provided for the expedition were several cases of medals, which the commodore was instructed to distribute among the natives of the different islands at which he might touch. It was hoped that a deep impression of the splendour and power of the country whence they came would be thereby made on the minds of the savages of New Holland; who, it seems to have been imagined, could not be ignorant of the exploits of the distinguished hero, whose name and likeness were about to be made familiar to their eyes. In addition to the crews, which amounted to nearly two hundred men, were several individuals selected on account of their eminence in botany, mineralogy, and the kindred branches of natural science.*

The commandant prosecuted his voyage without do-

* Around the bust of Napoleon were the words:

Bonaparte, Premier Consul de la Republique Française.

On the obverse of the medal were the figures of the two ships, with the following inscription:

Expédition de Découverte sous le Commandant Baudin.
Les Corvettes Géographe et Naturaliste.

The object of the application made to our government by M. Otto, the resident commissary for French prisoners of war, was "pour mettre le Capitaine Baudin à l'abri de toute attaque hostile, et lui procurer une reception favorable dans les établissemens Britanniques où il pourra être obligé de relacher momentanément."

ing or suffering any thing worthy of remark, till he arrived, 27th May 1801, on the coast of Australia. Immediately to the north of Cape Leuwin, Baudin discovered an inlet, which, after the name of his corvette, he called Géographe Bay; a place which was soon found to be less convenient than was expected, owing to its great exposure to the south-westerly winds, the most dangerous in those latitudes. Being separated in a gale, the Naturaliste took refuge in Shark's Bay, where was found a pewter plate nailed to a tree, which, from the inscription, proved to be not less than a hundred years old. It was the work of those enterprising navigators the Dutch, who first discovered this country, and whose skill, perseverance, resolution, and hardihood, have never been surpassed.*

There is no doubt that the main object of the voyage was not to discover new lands in unfrequented portions of the globe, but simply to ascertain the real condition of New Holland; to learn how the turbulent colonists were disposed towards the mother-country; to devise what measures the French should adopt in the event of a general peace; to find out some port in the neighbourhood of our settlements, where they might establish themselves under the invincible flag of the republic; and, in a word, to begin on a large scale the new

* The notices on the plate are as follow:

An. 1616,

The 25th of October, arrived here the ship Endraght, of Amsterdam, Dirk Hatigs, Master. The 27 of October, arrived here the ship Naban—Supercargo, Jamthins; First Lieutenant, Pieter Dookes.

An. 1697,

The first of February, arrived here the ship Alionck, of Amsterdam. After this, the Commander of the fleet, with the ship Fleming, of Flissingen. After, the ship Assistencie, Jan Van Bremen, Master; and the ship Theodore, Michel Beohn, Master. After this, the Neptune, Gorrit Cabaort, Master, from Amsterdam.

We have copied these from a "Narrative of the Proceedings of the Géographe and Naturaliste, sent on a Voyage of Discovery by the French Government in 1800;" annexed to Turnbull's Voyage round the World.

system of colonization, a mercantile navy, and a productive commerce. That such were the intentions of Napoleon is rendered manifest by the instructions given to Baudin. He was directed in the first place to touch at the Isle of France; thence to proceed to the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land: visit D'Entrecasteaux's Channel; examine the eastern coast; enter the straits of Bass through that of Banks; complete the discovery of Hunter's Islands; survey the south-western coast of New Holland; penetrate behind the islands of St Peter and St Francis; and to inspect that part of the continent concealed by these islands, where a strait was supposed to exist by which a communication might be opened with the great Gulf of Carpentaria. Having completed this part of his undertaking he was instructed to proceed to Cape Leuwin; to survey the unknown coasts to the northward; to examine the shores of the land which bears the names of Edels and Endraght; to view minutely the island of Rottenest, and Shark's Bay; and to terminate the labours of the first year at the north-western cape of New Holland. From Timor or Amboyna, where he was supposed to winter, he was ordered to proceed through Endeavour Strait to the eastern point of the great Gulf of Carpentaria; to examine the whole circuit of its coast to the land of Arnhem; to conclude the second campaign at the same north-western cape where the first was completed; and from thence to make the best of his way across the Indian ocean to Europe.*

The history of this voyage was intrusted to the literary skill of M. Péron, one of the philosophers who accompanied Baudin, and who complains bitterly of the bad arrangements made by that commander in all matters connected with the comfort of the crew as well

* Voyage de Découvertes aux Terres Australes, exécuté par ordre de sa Majesté L'Empéreur et Roi, sur les corvettes le Géographe, Le Naturaliste, et La Goêlette Le Casuarina, pendant les Années 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803, et 1804. Redigé par M. T. Péron, Naturaliste. Paris, 1807.

as the main object of the expedition. He admits that the efforts made by England, in modern times, for the advancement of scientific discovery have been very great; adding, however, that, in the glorious rivalry among nations for the propagation of knowledge, France has been able to dispute with advantage her superiority and her triumphs. Still, to counterbalance the effect which must arise from seeing numbers of enlightened Englishmen placed on the immense theatre of a fifth part of the globe, it was necessary, he maintains, that the government of Paris should fit out an expedition of discovery to the South Seas.

This undertaking was matured under the auspices of the Institute, who, in their report of Péron's professional labours, remark that, in the midst of the regions he traversed, he every where encountered the rivals of his country; in every place they have formed establishments which excite the greatest interest, and of which the other nations of Europe have always received false or at least very imperfect information. He applied himself particularly to comprehend in detail the vast system of colonization in Australia, which is exhibited at the same time on a great continent and over an immense ocean. His labours in this respect, they assert, are worthy, in every point of view, of the attention of the philosopher and the statesman. Never, perhaps, say they, did a subject of greater interest or curiosity present itself to their contemplation. Never, perhaps, was a more striking example afforded of the omnipotence of laws and institutions on the character of man. To transform the most formidable robbers and the most abandoned thieves of England into peaceful citizens and industrious planters; to operate the same revolution among degraded women, to compel them by infallible means to become virtuous wives and exemplary mothers; to bring under subordination and control a nascent population; to preserve it by assiduous care from the contagious immorality of those who are appointed to superintend its interests, and thus to

lay the groundwork of a race more virtuous than that whence it has sprung—such, they conclude, is the affecting picture which the new English colonies present!

To accomplish a similar object for the honour and benefit of France, Bonaparte, at the very moment he was putting his army of reserve in motion across the Alps, issued orders to hasten the execution of the grand enterprise. In an instant twenty-three persons, nominated by him on the presentation of the Institute, were destined for making scientific researches. Of these learned individuals only three returned to France, the others having fallen the victims of disease or of accident. Never was there witnessed such a display in the philosophical department of a voyage of discovery: never were means so amply prepared for securing success! Astronomers, geographers, mineralogists, botanists, zoologists, draftsmen, and gardeners presented themselves in great numbers, eager to share the glory of the expedition, and to obtain fresh laurels for their native land.

We have interposed these remarks with the view of showing, that the object contemplated by the first consul was not so much a circumnavigation of the globe as a survey of one of the largest, and, in some respects, the most important of British colonies. Baudin, as already noticed, made Cape Leuwin in May 1801; and at this point he thought proper to deviate so far from his instructions as to survey the western coast of New Holland, instead of proceeding to the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land. Sailing along shore, he gave new names to headlands and islands which had been discovered more than a century before; commemorating, so far as this usurpation could accomplish it, the fame of several French personages. The whole of the western coast is described as low, barren, dreary, and covered with sand, offering to the eye very little that is interesting in the animal, mineral, or vegetable creation. The few natives who were seen are described as horribly

ugly and repulsive; a set of human beings placed on the extreme verge of stupidity and wretchedness, and whose only covering consisted of a kangaroo skin thrown carelessly over the shoulders.

Having reached the north-west cape of New Holland, the commandant resolved to examine the coast which trends towards the north-east, and which was discovered in 1628 by the Dutch navigator De Witt, whose name it bears. It was again visited by Dampier in 1699, and by three vessels from Amsterdam about six years later; upon the authority of whose observations the ordinary charts in this country have been usually constructed. Baudin, however, to gratify the vanity of his patrons at home, deemed it expedient to assign new appellations to every group of islands and remarkable promontory which met his eye; and hence the youthful geographers in France may still be in the habit of associating with the steril borders of Western Australia the names of Berthond, Champagny, Forestier, and Bonaparte. The navigator, indeed, freely admits that this compliment to the chiefs of the republic was not great; for among the numerous isles which skirt the coast or diversify the bays, nothing occurs which is in the least degree pleasing to the imagination. The soil is naked; the burning sky is hardly ever shaded by a cloud; and the sea is scarcely agitated except by squalls in the night. Man seems to have abandoned these ungenial shores; nowhere is perceived any vestige of his dwelling or any trace of his presence. The navigator, shuddering at this hideous solitude, beset with dangers, is disposed to turn his back on the ill-fated region; and when he reflects that these inhospitable islands are in a similar zone with those of the grand archipelago of Asia, on which nature delights to pour its treasures, he feels a difficulty in conceiving how a sterility so complete can possibly be perpetuated by the side of an abundance so affluent. In vain will he seek in the ordinary laws which regulate the productions of the soil the real principle of so extraordinary an opposition.

After wintering in the island of Timor, the two ships resumed operations early in 1802, by proceeding to the southern part of Van Diemen's Land. Here they seem to have confined their investigations to the Bay of Storms and the Channel of D'Entrecasteaux; whence they proceeded round the point of the island Maria, and anchored in Oyster Bay. In a violent gale of wind, the Naturaliste again separated from her consort; an accident which M. Péron ascribes to the professional ignorance of the senior captain. But all those dangers, he adds, were nothing in comparison of the dreadful scurvy, which carried death and destruction among the crew. Already several of the men had been thrown into the sea; already more than half the ship's company were incapable of any duty; two only of the helmsmen could take their turn at the wheel. The progress of the disease was frightful. Three-fourths of a bottle of putrid water composed the daily allowance; for more than a year they had not known the taste of wine, nor had a single drop of brandy passed their lips. In place of these liquors, so indispensable to the European navigator on distant voyages, were substituted three-sixteenths of a bottle of wretched rum prepared at the isle of France, and which none but the black slaves of that colony are in the habit of using. The biscuit was holed like a sieve by the larvæ of insects. All the salt provisions were rotten in the strictest sense of the word; and so insupportable were both the smell and taste, that the most famished of the crew chose rather to suffer all the agonies of hunger than to eat them; oftentimes indeed, in the presence of the commandant, did they throw their allowance into the sea.*

From Cape Wilson on the southern shore of New Holland, the Géographe stood westward through Bass's Strait; from which promontory to Cape Leuwin, an extent of coast equal to nine hundred leagues, the coun-

* Voyage aux Terres Australes, p. 331. Quarterly Review, vol. iv. p. 50.

try was named "Terre Napoleon." Next follow Cape Richelieu, Bay Talleyrand, Cape Suffrein, Cape Marengo, Cape Dessaix, Cape Volney, Cape Buffon, Cape Rivoli, Cape Jaffa, the peninsula Fleurieu, and Josephine's Gulf, which runs a hundred miles into the interior. These are succeeded by the island Decrès, the peninsula Cambacères, Cape Berthier, and the great gulf of Bonaparte. All those islands scattered along the Terre Napoleon, amounting to more than a hundred and sixty, present, it is said, the same dreary picture as those of the archipelago on the northern side of this continent; being low, arid, and steril, and producing neither tree nor shrub. Not a human being is known to exist on them; and they are surrounded by a sea exposed to the most tremendous storms.

To those who have read the narratives of former discoverers nothing can be more clear than that the French have claimed the honour of making known a large extent of coast which had been previously visited. In July 1801, the Investigator sloop of war, commanded by Captain Flinders, sailed from England under orders to complete the nautical survey of the shores of New Holland. In December he reached Cape Leuwin, and, stretching along the land of Nuyts, had, by the 17th March following, not only verified all that Vancouver and D'Entrecasteaux accomplished, but, in addition, completed the discovery of the deep inlet within the islands of St Peter and St Francis, which was at one time supposed to communicate with the Gulf of Carpentaria. It is a singular coincidence that, on the very same day, the Géographe entered the eastern mouth of Bass's Strait, near Furneaux's islands, and, forty-eight hours afterwards, came opposite to Western Harbour on the southern coast of Australia; "where, says M. Péron, the labours of the English navigators end, and where our long discoveries of the Land of Napoleon begin." It is true that, on the 19th March, Péron could not know what had been effected by Flinders at a considerable distance westward; but he knew it before

he published his book; he knew it, in fact, a few days after the ship in which he sailed attained this meridian; for on the 9th April, says Captain Flinders, "we encountered, in long. 139° 10′ east, M. Baudin in the Géographe, who was prosecuting his examination of the same coast in the opposite direction." Every information was unreservedly communicated to Captain Baudin; he was told that "the whole of the south coast of Australia, with the exception of ten or fifteen leagues to the west of Cape Otway, had undergone an investigation, which was generally made at five or six miles' distance from the shore, and frequently nearer." The English officer, therefore, claims as his right all the space between the point where the Dutch navigator Nuyts stopped in his course eastward, and the point where he himself met the Géographe, including four degrees ten minutes of longitude; while he resigns to the French, as the proper field of their discovery, the space between long. 139° 10′ east and Cape Northumberland, which is situated in long. 140° 50′ east, amounting to about forty leagues. To these limits "the claim of original discovery, so far as I am acquainted, is vested in Captain Baudin and the French nation; nor shall I presume to call the headlands contained in this space by other names than such as shall be assigned to them in the French chart."*

Coupling the assumption made by Péron with the remaining part of Flinders' history, a strong suspicion arises that the whole was the effect of a premeditated design to snatch the merit of discovery from the rightful possessor, for the purpose of setting up a claim, at some future day, to this part of New Holland. It is well known that our countryman was detained several

* Captain Flinders' MS. Journal, as quoted in the Quarterly Review, vol. iv. p. 53. It is stated in the text that the French comprehend, under the head of *Terre Napoleon*, not less than nine hundred leagues of coast; including all the discoveries of Nuyts, Vancouver, D'Entrecasteaux, Flinders, Bass, and Grant; a claim which is entirely without foundation, and will never be urged by any reasonable government.

years a prisoner in the Isle of France; and he himself entertained the suspicion that his detention was prolonged, "to give time for the previous publication of the voyage of M. Baudin, to prepossess the world that it was to the French nation only the complete discovery and examination of the south coast of Australia was due." The conduct of De Caen, who treated Captain Flinders as an impostor and spy, is worthy of the deepest reprobation. On his arrival in the island, where necessity alone compelled him to touch, the governor behaved with the utmost rudeness; affected to disbelieve that he was the officer described in the passport; ordered his little vessel to be seized as well as his books, charts, and papers; and conducted him to a small house in the town, before the door of which a soldier was immediately placed. Ascending a dirty staircase, he and the master of the little schooner in which he had sailed, were put into a miserable chamber containing two truckle beds without curtains, a small table, and two rush-bottomed chairs. If they could have slept in this miserable hole, undisturbed by the multitude of bugs and mosquitoes, the entrance of two grenadiers would have prevented their repose; one of whom walked backward and forward between their beds, as a sentinel on his post, without paying the least attention to those who occupied them. In this wretched apartment the English captain was kept a close prisoner nearly four months. It was fortunate that he had found means of conveying to Europe copies of his charts, journals, and other papers; but his captivity did not expire till after the lapse of nearly seven years.*

It is but justice to mention that several French

* A Voyage to Terra Australis, undertaken for the Purpose of discovering that vast Country, and prosecuted in the Years 1801, 1802, and 1803, in his Majesty's Ship Investigator, and subsequently in the armed Vessel Porpoise and Cumberland Schooner. With an Account of the Shipwreck of the Porpoise; Arrival of the Cumberland at the Mauritius, and Imprisonment of the Commander during six Years and a half in that Island. By Mathew Flinders, Commander of the Investigator. London, 1814. Vol. ii. p. 458-470.

officers, including Admiral Linois, applied in his behalf, though without success. Nor were the solicitations of Marquis Wellesley and Sir Edward Pellew of more avail: nay, when Laborde, the principal physician of the medical staff, gave a certificate that country air and exercise were necessary for the restoration of his health, De Caen contented himself by sending a message to the doctor, desiring him not to interfere with matters which did not fall within the limits of his official superintendence. This brutal conduct, however, was fully approved at Paris; and the motive, already suggested, soon became more apparent. The publication of the French voyage of discovery was in great forwardness, and the Emperor Napoleon, considering it to be a national work, had granted a considerable sum to render it complete. From the Moniteur of July 1808, it appeared that French names were given to all Flinders' discoveries, as well as those of Captain Grant, on the southern coast of Australia; it was kept out of sight that he had ever been on that coast; and in speaking of M. Péron's first volume, the newspapers asserted that no voyage ever made by the English nation could be compared with that of the Géographe and Naturaliste. "It may be remembered," says the commander of the Investigator, "that after exploring the south coast up to Kangaroo Island, with the two gulfs, I met Captain Baudin, and gave him the first information of those places, and of the advantages they offered him; and it is but an ill return to seek to deprive me of the little honour attending the discovery."

But the captain of the Géographe was not in reality responsible for the injustice inflicted on our unfortunate countryman; an exemption which may be extended even to the nominal author of the work in which the fraud was perpetrated. Flinders himself was sufficiently generous to make the same acknowledgment. After relating that, when at a subsequent period he met the French officers at Port Jackson, he had showed one of his charts to Baudin in the presence of M. Péron, he

states that Freycinet, one of the lieutenants, addressed him to this effect: "Captain, if we had not been kept so long picking up shells and catching butterflies at Van Diemen's Land, you would not have discovered the south coast before us." "How then," asks Captain Flinders, "came M. Péron to advance what is so contrary to truth? Was he a man destitute of all principle? My answer is, that I believe his candour to have been equal to his acknowledged abilities; and that what he wrote was from overruling authority, and smote him to the heart; he did not live to finish the second volume. It is further manifest that, had he lived, he could not have brought it out; for his reference, in the first, to charts which had no existence, placed him in the painful predicament either of acknowledging the deception or of producing documents surreptitiously obtained. Baudin admitted that he constructed no charts, saying that he transmitted to Paris all his bearings and observations, with a regular series of views of the land, and that from them the charts were to be made at some future time."*

The treatment received by Flinders at the Mauritius forms a striking contrast to the reception bestowed upon the French navigators at Port Jackson. Péron relates that the English treated the captain of the Naturaliste from the first moment with that great and polite generosity which the perfection of European civilisation only can produce. The most distinguished houses in the colony were open to his officers; and during their whole stay there, they experienced that delicate and kind hospitality which confers equal honour on him who practises it and on him who is the object of it. "In one word," says he, "the conduct of the English government

* See Flinders' Voyage, vol. ii. p. 462. Quarterly Review, vol. xii. p. 10, and vol. iv. p. 60. In reference to the first volume of Péron, it is remarked that the "Atlas is of quarto size; it contains not a single chart, nor any sketch or plan of a coast, island, bay, or harbour, though frequent references are made to such in the margin of the printed volume. It has, however, five or six plates, which can be of no use either to science or navigation, and which look like so many strips of coloured riband."

with regard to us was so marked by magnificence and generosity, that we should be wanting in every principle of honour and justice were we not to record the expression of our gratitude."

On another authority we are assured that Baudin and his followers experienced the most hospitable and marked attention; their sick were immediately landed, and cheerfully received into the hospital; every refreshment which the colony could afford was liberally furnished to them; while such of the officers as chose to avail themselves of an open table were always made welcome, and found a cover provided for them. They had credit to an unlimited extent; and the scientific gentlemen were allowed the full range of the country to prosecute their researches. He himself observes, that "upon our landing here, the resources of the colony were by no means abundant, and supplies uncertain. The arrival of a hundred and seventy men could not be supposed a very favourable circumstance; nevertheless, we were amply provided for; and as soon as our wants were known, a retrenchment of the daily rations was adopted, in proportion to the number of inhabitants and garrison of the colony. His Excellency the governor gave the example, and, by this means, equally honourable to humanity and himself, we experienced comforts here which we should elsewhere have obtained with difficulty."*

Upon the arrival of the Naturaliste in the Channel, in June 1803, hostilities having recommenced between this country and France, she was captured and sent into Portsmouth by one of our cruisers. On this occasion the government afforded another proof of British generosity. During her short detention, the crew were provided with every suitable refreshment; and as soon as the Admiralty had satisfied themselves that she was what she represented herself to be, she was suffered to proceed

* Narrative of the Proceedings of Le Géographe and Le Naturaliste, &c. Turnbull's Voyage, p. 482.

home without further interruption, having on board the whole collection of mineral, botanical, and zoological productions, curiosities, views, and drawings, amounting in all to more than twelve hundred packages.

If we rely upon the authority of the "Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages," recently published at Paris, we must conclude that Baudin died in the island of Timor, on the second September 1803; whereas we are elsewhere informed that he lost his life at the battle of Trafalgar, two years afterwards. At all events, his labours as a discoverer appear to have ceased when he reached the Dutch settlement a second time; and as the result of his researches did not correspond either to the greatness of the preparations which preceded his departure from France, or to the ambitious views of the military chief who employed him, his memory has been treated with little reserve. His contempt for all those precautions indispensable to the health of men on long voyages; his disregard of the special orders of his government on this head; and, above all, the unnecessary privations imposed by him on the sick and the crew at large, repeatedly call forth the severe animadversions of M. Péron. But it is stated in the narrative, already quoted, that the real difficulty of the voyage was much augmented by a general want of discipline which pervaded the whole body of the officers, and which took its origin from the levelling principles at that time predominant in France. The enterprise proved abortive, because there was a total want of concert in the execution. In any other state of things than that which prevailed among the republicans who acknowledged the banner of Napoleon, the strong hand of discipline would have corrected every defect of union between the subalterns and their commander; but M. Baudin found himself at the head only of a democratic club, who opposed his measures on a premeditated plan, and denounced in the strongest terms his ultimate failure, though their own neglect or disobedience was the principal cause. The expedition, in short, produced no result, except,

perhaps, a tolerably accurate survey of the western coast of New Holland, and of a smaller portion of it in Bass's Strait.*

It may be noticed in passing, that Turnbull came in contact with the French squadron on the southern shores of Australia, and that the English constantly displayed, at the several points where they had landed, the national colours, intimating thereby a previous possession of the country. Baudin, observing this, and guessing its meaning, remarked with much pleasantry that the British were even worse than the Pope, for that his holiness had the moderation to divide the world, whereas the others were grasping at the whole of it; alluding to our colonial possessions in the East as well as in the West, and indicating, in no ambiguous terms, the feeling which rankled in the breast of the first consul, whose commerce and shipping were visited by no dawn of prosperity.

Freycinet, whose exertions as a navigator we now proceed to record, shared the command with Baudin in the expedition just described; and having learned from experience that such undertakings are not unfrequently defeated by embracing too many objects, he resolved, when invested with the chief authority, to avoid the encumbrance occasioned by an undue proportion of scientific men on board, who, he had found, were at all times disposed to postpone the interests of discovery to the accomplishment of their own purposes as astronomers, geologists, or students of the lighter branches of

* Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xviii. p. 8. "Ici (isle de Timor) se termine réellement le voyage du Capitaine Baudin: ce marin distingué mourut dans cette même île, après une cruelle maladie, le 2 Septembre 1803, et eut pour remplaçant le Capitaine Milius, qui ramena en Europe les deux corvettes, &c." Though our confidence in the editor (who confers the title of captain on the surgeon Bass, who discovered the strait of that name) is not great, we cannot believe that he could be mistaken in so palpable a matter as the death of so distinguished an officer. We therefore presume that Baudin, the captain of the Fougeux, who perished at Trafalgar, must have been a different person. Quarterly Review, vol. iv. p. 55.

natural history. The instructions put into his hands had respect, in the first place, to the fuller discovery and survey of the western coasts of New Holland. But, at the same time, he was desired to pursue a series of experiments and investigations, with the view of ascertaining the laws which regulate the phenomena of magnetism in the southern hemisphere. By multiplying notices relative to the declination and inclination of the needle, at several places, distant from each other, on the same parallels and meridians, it was hoped that he would be enabled to discover the number and position of the magnetic poles in the earth, on the supposition that the theory of its being one great magnet was the true one. It was also enjoined, as part of his duty, that he should, by means of an invariable pendulum, used at the same points on sea and land, endeavour to render more accurate than they have hitherto been, the opinions of geographers in regard to the figure of our globe.*

The Uranie, having on board upwards of a hundred and twenty men, and mounting twenty guns, sailed from Toulon on the seventeenth day of September 1817, and on the fifth of October arrived at Gibraltar, where General Don is said to have received the party with a smile, which, adds one of the officers, though but a faint one, was deemed so unusual a thing on an Englishman's countenance, as to justify the conclusion that "it may have been the first which for these ten years had played upon the lips of the governor." Proceeding in the usual course, Captain Freycinet reached the coast of Brazil in the beginning of December; of which country he gives a full description, including an account of its discovery and settlement by the Spaniards, about the close of the

* Voyage autour du Monde, entrepris par ordre du Roi, exécuté sur les Corvettes de S. M. L'Uranie et La Physicienne, pendant les années 1817, 1818, 1819, and 1820. Par M. Louis de Freycinet, &c., 2 tomes quarto, Paris, 1825-1829. Besides these two volumes on the History of the Voyage, there are seven others in quarto, on Language, Zoology, Botany, the Pendulum, Magnetism, Meteorology, and Hydrography, together with four huge Atlases.

sixteenth century. But such a voyage could not be achieved without a storm, which, whatever it might have appeared in the eyes of a British sailor, could not, it is insinuated, appal the hearts of resolute Frenchmen. "Whether touching the clouds or at the bottom of the abyss, they are constantly the same; and they care as little for the thunderbolt as for the sunken rock. But the uproar increases; the cloud hovers over the vessel; wave dashes against wave; lightnings rend the clouds; and from their murky sides burst torrents of wind and hail. The ship is carried away; the rapidity of its motions prevents any attempt to counteract them; and the profoundest darkness would render such an attempt useless. The roaring of the waves, the pealings of the thunder, the howling of the cordage, the crackling of the tackle, drown the voice; none is heard save that of the tempest."*

Nothing could be less gratifying to a benevolent or virtuous spirit than the condition of society at Rio Janeiro; the majority of the inhabitants being either slaves or recently elevated from a state of bondage. The tribes in the neighbourhood, too, were at that period in the lowest degree of savage life, indulging in the most execrable propensities, and addicted, it is more than insinuated, to the unnatural appetite of cannibalism. At the Cape of Good Hope the scene is changed entirely for the better. Civilisation had already attained a triumph in that settlement; and Dutch industry had every where turned to the most beneficial purposes the gifts of nature, whether in soil or climate. The Mauritius restores the crew in some degree to the manners and language of their own countrymen; an advantage which is likewise enjoyed at the isle of Bourbon, where the Uranie anchored on the 19th July. In the year 1818, the former colony contained about eighty thousand souls, of whom seven thousand were whites.

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World in the Uranie and Physicienne Corvettes, commanded by Captain Freycinet. By J. Arago, 4to, 1822.

The French tongue, it is asserted, was more generally used than any other; and the Creole females gave it a preference, because it is at once "the idiom of conversation and of gallantry." But independently of the French, which unquestionably forms the basis of the language, the blacks have invented a sort of domestic dialect, which they speak with great sweetness, and employ also as the vehicle of their simple music.

On the 12th September, the captain of the Uranie found himself on the western shore of New Holland, at the place marked on the maps as Endracht's Land, where his people suffered greatly from heat and bad water. Here M. Arago, the draftsman, had an interview with some of the neighbouring savages, whose conduct appeared at once shy and suspicious; but having recourse to his castanets, he set the whole party, old and young, a-dancing, and remained amongst them till the approach of night. He describes them as being of a middling stature, their skin black as ebony, and their eyes lively but small. They have a broad forehead, flat nose, large mouth, thick lips, and white teeth; their breast is tolerably broad, and covered with little incisions; their extremities are slender, their motions quick, their gestures rapid, and their agility is surprising. Some of them were tattooed with red; the women having even their brows stained with that colour. But nothing could reconcile the romantic designer to the horrors of the soil and climate, both of which were more repulsive than the miserable hordes whose lot was cast in them. "The sun sets, and every thing is dead. The millions of flies which devoured us have disappeared; no insect wings through the air; no voice disturbs the silence of this melancholy solitude; a sharp cold benumbs the limbs.—The sun reappears; the air is again peopled; a consuming heat oppresses us; we seek repose and find nothing but fatigue. What a frightful abode!"*

* Freycinet himself remarks, that "tous ces sauvages sont les êtres les plus miserables et le plus dégradés de la nature humaine;

After spending somewhat more than two weeks on that burning coast, M. Freycinet directed his course towards the island of Timor, with the intention of refreshing his men and repairing his ship. As is usual with this officer, he enters into numerous details respecting the history of the country, its productions, and the state of society, which, though not quite superfluous to a French reader at the period he wrote, would be found entirely without interest at the present day in any part of England. It is well known that it belongs to the Sunda group, which were first visited by the Portuguese under Cano, the successor of Magellan, and afterwards occupied by the Dutch, whose East India Company established settlements on several of them; with the view, it is said, of destroying the cloves and nutmeg trees, and thereby of securing to themselves an exclusive commerce in the valuable spices in which that portion of the world abounds.

Timor is the largest of what are called the Lesser Sundas, being three hundred miles long, and about forty-five in breadth. A chain of mountains runs through the middle of it, from one extremity to the other; the summits of which, at certain points, attain such an elevation, that Flinders compares them to the peak of Teneriffe. Along the southern coast, the land fronting the sea is generally low, or very slightly raised; but at a short distance there are hills, which ascend in gentle acclivities toward the central range. On the northern coast, the land is uniformly high at a short distance from the sea, sloping down in many parts towards the beach. Though the greater part of the island consists of valleys separated by alpine heights, there are a few large plains, one of the most extensive of which, not less than

ils vivent de la manière la plus abjecte, et ont une existence tout-à-fait nomade.—La Baie des Chiens-Marins, ou l'Uranie avait mouillé, offre l'aspect le plus affreux; d'immenses déserts de sable couvrent la côte, sans presenter aucun vestige de végétation. On a peine à croire que des hommes puissent habiter un sol pareil, et cependant, comme on vient de le dire, l'expédition française en avait aperçu."—*Bibliothèque Universelle*, tome xviii. p. 62.

ten miles broad, lies at the bottom of Coupang Bay. The rivers are small, and, as they descend from the high ground with great rapidity, are not navigable beyond the run of the tide, which in no instance exceeds two miles. The soil in many places is fertile, but the greater part of the interior is unknown to Europeans, whose business confines them to the neighbourhood of the ports. In the plain of Bau-bau, where water is abundant, the average crop of rice is said to be upwards of seventy-fold; and the other objects of agriculture, which are also prosecuted with considerable success, are maize, millet, pulse, sweet potatoes, and cotton. In some parts of the island, a species of sago-palm is used for food; sugar-cane is also raised in small quantities; and different kinds of fruit, including oranges, are not uncommon. The domestic animals are horses, buffaloes, sheep, and goats; while sundry varieties of the same species, besides goats, hogs, dogs, cats, and monkeys, are found in a wild state, and freely eaten by the natives. Gold has been detected in several of the rivers, both in particles and lumps; some of the latter weighing not less than two ounces. Native copper is reported to abound in the Philaran mountains, which are situated near the centre of the north-western part of the island.

The inhabitants are of a very dark colour, with frizzled hair, bearing no small resemblance to the Papuas or people of New Guinea; though in their figure, as well as in the form of the face, they present a stronger likeness to the South Sea islanders than to any of the Malay tribes. Human sacrifices are still made on certain occasions in the remoter districts; the practice of such horrid rites having been entirely suppressed in the vicinity of Coupang by the authority of the Dutch governor. The territory at large is still in the actual possession of a number of petty chiefs, who have long consented to acknowledge a nominal dependance on the European settlers, whether Dutch or Portuguese. The former, it is understood, have asserted a right to the whole of the southern coast; but as there are no harbours, they have

formed no establishments, and seldom exerted the powers inherent in them as conquerors.

Near the western extremity of the island stands Coupang, the principal port, in a fine bay extending about twelve miles across, and receding not less than twenty miles into the interior. During the easterly monsoon, it is a safe harbour, but as it is open to the north-west, ships cannot lie there when the wind blows from that quarter. Fort Concordia, the principal settlement of the Dutch, is situated on the southern side of the bay, and enjoys a considerable trade; the chief articles of which, viewed as exports, are wax, sandal-wood, mineral-oil, and cattle. The imports are coarse cotton cloths, white or blue, large pattern chintzes and handkerchiefs, China silks, China-ware, umbrellas, muskets, gunpowder, iron, coarse British cutlery, and lead. The Portuguese have still three stations on the northern coast, Dille, Batoo-Gede, and Manatatoo. Of these the first mentioned continues to be the most important, having a harbour well defended from the swell of the sea by an extensive reef of rocks, and enjoying a commerce not inferior to that of Coupang. It is painful to observe, that under the head of exports are classed slaves, who continue to be carried to the other islands of the Indian Archipelago, especially to Celebes.*

It is remarked by the historian of his voyage, that Freycinet, arriving at Timor from the sandy plains of New Holland, could not find words to express his admiration of the beautiful verdure which every where presented itself to his eyes; but, he adds, if the captain had come from the Moluccas proper, or, in other words, from the north-east, his enthusiasm would have been greatly subdued. It is no doubt by a reference to the different points of departure that we must account for the great discrepancy in the opinions entertained by

* Voyage autour du Monde, &c., tome i. p. 487-705. Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xviii. p. 62-69. Penny Cyclopædia, vol. xxiii., Sunda Islands.

navigators relative to the fertility of that island, and the vernal aspect of its shores when approached from the steril regions of Northern Australia.

From Timor, the Uranie proceeded to Rawack, a small island not far from New Guinea, and which forms one of a group that has occasionally attracted the notice of seafaring men, whether employed in the pursuits of trade or discovery. The natives are described as being exceedingly ill favoured in point of looks; and are also little, squat, large headed, woolly haired, nearly black, spindle shanked, with long broad feet. Their countenances are inexpressive, their manners unengaging, their air stupid. Nearly all of them are covered with leprosy, or have been affected by it. Notwithstanding these defects, they climb trees with surprising facility, and are very skilful fishers. Standing on the bow of his canoe, rudely enough fashioned, and furnished only with a sail of cocoa leaves, the savage sees a fish at a distance; upon which, advancing towards it in his little skiff, he darts his bamboo headed with iron, perhaps more than twenty paces, and seldom fails to secure his victim.

Freycinet devotes two chapters to the Carolines and the Marians, a class of islands which merit a greater degree of attention than they have hitherto obtained. Tinian, one of the latter, is worthy of notice as the place where Anson and his crew found protection; being at the same time remarkable for some singular ruins which were discovered in the interior. It is the opinion of one of the voyagers that it must formerly have been the residence of a great people, extinguished by one of those catastrophes which annihilate empires and generations of men. It is not possible to proceed a league without finding some gigantic remains of old monuments among the brambles; and the whole island seems to be but one ruin. The trees are weak and scanty; but they have to make their way with difficulty through heaps of dry leaves and decayed trunks. Here and there are found old bare bread-fruit trees, the tops of which, exhibiting a few grayish branches,

indicate to the traveller the convulsion of which they have been the victims, without denoting its epoch. A few feeble cocoas still raise their withered heads, moaning, it might be said, the sadness of nature, and wishing to die with her. Uniform plains of small elevation; a monotonous coast; a few reefs of rocks; the wrecks of vegetation parched by the sun; and the absence of either road or shelter, seem to announce the very abode of melancholy. Every thing is in decay; and yet Anson painted this country, and, no doubt, with perfect truth, as an Elysium, a scene of natural enchantment. Is there not, then, exclaims M. Arago, any testimony of the convulsion which is still so recent! It is the hand of man not of Providence which has inflicted on Tinian the evils so pathetically bewailed. To the visit of the Spaniards, those least indulgent of colonists, may be traced the death and desolation which now deform the shores of the Marians, and of other groups in the Indian archipelago.*

Two months were employed by M. Freycinet in collecting observations and making scientific experiments with the view of accomplishing in some measure the principal object of the expedition. As soon as these were completed he set sail for the Sandwich Islands; and on the fifth of August 1819, reached Owhyhee, where he subsequently came to anchor, in the bay of Karakaooa. Tamehameha, the king, had just died, his palace was reduced to ashes, and nearly all the pigs in the district had been killed to do honour to his obsequies, according to the custom of the country; hence, the time was extremely unfavourable for victualling the corvette. Rio-Rio, who had already

* Arago's Voyage round the World, p. 276-283. Freycinet informs us that "ces insulaires vivent d'une manière frugale: le riz, le maïs, le coco, le poisson, le porc ou le cerf composent leur nourriture habituelle. Les hommes sont quelquefois abus d'eau-de-vie de coco. Les convives mangent accroupis et assis sur leurs talons. Ils vont presque entièrement nus, car le langouti ou leger manteau jeté sur leurs épaules est bien plus un ornement qu'un vêtement."

ascended the throne and received from the chiefs the usual oath of allegiance, found himself in a condition to treat with the French captain through the medium of Rives, a European, who acted as interpreter. The young monarch even presented himself on board, accepted the usual gifts proffered by the stranger, and immediately issued orders that the crew should be supplied with provisions. In the several volumes descriptive of this voyage, numerous details are supplied relative to the history, manners, pursuits, amusements, and religion of the Sandwich islanders, which, though on the whole both accurate and entertaining, have long been superseded by more recent intelligence now in the hands of every reader.

About the end of August, the commander of the Uranie turned his face once more towards the south, steering for Port Jackson in the British colony of New South Wales. On the 19th October, she came in sight of the Dangerous Islands, discovered by Byron in June 1766, of which the geographical position is lat. 10° 15′ south, and long. 169° 28′ west from Greenwich. Two days afterwards, when on the east of the Navigator archipelago, Freycinet perceived an islet, not marked in any chart, to which he gave the appellation of Rose Isle, after the name of his wife, and in commemoration of the long voyage accomplished by her in his company.*

The discovery now mentioned is acknowledged to be the only and true one (la seule et veritable) which exclusively belongs to the expedition of the Uranie. Obtaining a distant glance of the more southerly of the

* An anecdote is told respecting this lady about the time the expedition sailed. The Minister of Marine, displeased at the captain's refusing to take the botanist with him, resolved to prevent Madame Freycinet from accompanying her husband, and gave an order that no woman should be received on board. When, however, the ship was fairly out at sea, a handsome sailor-boy presented himself to the captain on the quarter-deck. It was Madame Freycinet, who had smuggled herself on board, and remained among the crew three or four days without the knowledge of her husband. Quarterly Review, vol. xxviii. p. 343.

Friendly and Tonga Islands in passing, the adventurers at length, on the 18th November, found themselves safely moored in Port Jackson, where they received the most polite attention from General Macquarie, who was at that period governor of the colony. Having occupied five or six weeks in his scientific labours, Freycinet turned his prow towards home by way of Cape Horn; but, encountering frightful weather as he approached the extremity of South America, he attempted to find refuge in the bay of Good Success, in the Strait of Le Maire. Overtaken here by a tremendous tempest, he cut his cable and ran for the Falkland Islands; in attempting to enter one of which his ship struck on a sunken rock and soon became a complete wreck. While forming a plan for the safety of the people under his charge he was gratified by the appearance of an American trader, the master of which engaged to transport the crew of the Uranie, her stores and scientific collections, to Rio Janeiro. In the end it was found expedient to purchase this vessel, which the captain formally commissioned under the name of La Physicienne; and having embarked all his followers, who had now been about three years absent from Europe, he arrived at Havre on the 13th November 1820.

It is manifest that, if regarded as a voyage of discovery, the expedition now described must be pronounced altogether fruitless. Indeed, the promoters of it profess not to have had in view the advancement of geographical knowledge, which, they admit, has at all times been much more successfully cultivated by the English than by the navigators of France. Their object, as already indicated, was to perfect the acquaintance of philosophers with the laws of magnetism, both as a principle considered on the broad grounds of physical science, and as the means of rendering the mariner's compass a safer guide than it can yet be esteemed, in all parts of the globe. Freycinet, it should seem, collected a number of facts, which by the Institute at Paris were considered

of so much value as to obtain a place in their records, and also to receive from them a hearty recommendation to the learned in the other countries of Europe. But as Duperrey was intrusted with a similar duty, and added not inconsiderably to the stock of knowledge accumulated by his predecessor in this department of study, it will prove decidedly more convenient to postpone our remarks on the result of their researches until we shall have given an outline of the maritime proceedings of the commander of the Coquille, who sailed from Toulon on the eleventh day of August 1822.

Duperrey, who had served in the Uranie in quality of lieutenant, possessed many advantages, both as a seaman and as a philosophical observer. The first port at which he touched after leaving his native country, was Santa Cruz in the island of Teneriffe, whence, after a little delay, he directed his course for the shores of Brazil; following, in short, the path marked out to him by his late captain, Freycinet. On the 16th October, the Coquille anchored before the island of Santa Catherina, where she remained two weeks. About the middle of November, she reached Port Louis in the Malouine or Falkland group, having, at the distance of about forty miles from Santa Catherina, passed through a portion of the ocean tinged with a deep red. This phenomenon was occasioned by the diffusion on its surface of an impalpable powder, in which were seen floating little globules of a crimson colour, afterwards ascertained to be the eggs of myriads of animalcules, whose sanguineous tint impressed itself upon the waves. The navigator remarks that these crustaceous tribes show themselves at certain seasons on the coast of Chili and Peru, in the neighbourhood of the Cape of Good Hope, of New Holland, of the Moluccas, and in particular gulfs, such as those of Arabia and California, and to which, without doubt, they owe their denominations of the Red and Vermilion Seas. But it appears that they are discovered in still greater abundance in that part of the Atlantic which washes the borders of America, between the tro-

pic of Capricorn and the forty-eighth degree of south latitude, especially towards the mouth of the river Plate, and the shores of the province which bears the name of Magellan.

A residence of not less than a month in the Falkland Islands enabled Duperrey to explore the interior of the principal ones, and to collect a number of geographical details, which in the eyes of his countrymen continued to possess no small importance as connected with the speculations of M. Bougainville. He readily acknowledges that Europeans owe their acquaintance with the Malouine cluster to Davis, who, in August 1592, was driven into them by stress of weather. Seven years later, the Dutch admiral, Simon de Cordes, impelled by a similar accident, sought refuge in one of the bays; and in 1615, Schouten and Le Maire visited this archipelago, though without adding to the stock of information respecting it. John Strong, in 1690, distinguished the settlement by the name of the Falkland Isles. The French admiral just mentioned formed upon them an establishment in 1764, which was soon afterwards surrendered to the Spaniards, who, in their turn, relinquished the possession of them to the British crown.*

About the middle of December, the Coquille doubled Cape Horn ; after which achievement, not accomplished without some hazard, she visited the harbour of Conception in Chili ; that of Callao in Peru ; and then the port of Payta, which is supposed to have its situation between the terrestrial and magnetic equators. The absence of diplomatic relations between France and the republican governments of South America, occasioned no impediment to the scientific inquiries instituted by the philosophers of the Coquille : on the contrary, both in Chili and Peru, the local authorities met and even

* Duperrey remarks that "le manque de bois sur ces îsles serait un grand obstacle aux relâches des bâtimens si la tourbe n'y était abondante. L'isle "Ship" en renferme des couches inépuisable, et au besoin cette tourbe peut très bien remplacer le charbon." Biblio. Uni., tome 28, p. 126.

anticipated their wishes with the utmost eagerness. After a proper use of their instruments both on shipboard and on land, they pursued their course in a western direction, passed the Dangerous Archipelago, and at length, on the third day of May 1823, cast anchor in the bay of Otaheite. On leaving the Society Islands, the expedition successively made the Salvage Isles, Eoa, in the Friendly group, Santa Cruz, Bougainville, Bouka, and finally reached New Ireland, where they interrupted their voyage by mooring their ship in Port Praslin.

The descriptions supplied by Duperrey, as well of the country as of the inhabitants and their manners, agree but too closely with those which may be gathered from the works of our own voyagers. Their skin is black, their hair woolly, and their stature does not exceed five feet two inches. Their arms are usually adorned with human bones in the natural state; hideous trophies which prove that they do not abstain from eating the prisoners whom they have massacred. They do not even give themselves the trouble of skinning the animals, or plucking the feathers from the fowls which they use for food; whatever may be the prey which falls into their hands, it is immediately, and without any preparation, thrown upon the glowing embers, roasted, and eaten. They devour also, without any appearance of disgust, certain large reptiles with which their island abounds. Dogs are esteemed a peculiar dainty; and every thing, in short, which displays muscles, bones, and nerves, finds a place in the list of the articles with which their larder is supplied. In barbarism, cruelty, and neglect of personal cleanliness, they rival the inhabitants of New Holland and the most ferocious of the tribes in the Friendly Islands.

After a short stay in that part of the Pacific, the expedition proceeded to Waijoo; and, after touching at Caieli, the officers landed at Amboyna in the Moluccas, where they received from M. Merkus, the governor, the most friendly attention and assistance. On the 27th October, the Coquille got under weigh, and directing her

course from north to south, reconnoitred the Volcano Island, passed through the Straits of Ombai, inspected the small archipelago lying westward of Timor, coasted along Tavou and Bonjour, and finally left those seas in her way to Port Jackson. Contrary winds prevented the captain from fulfilling his intention of sailing along the western coast of New Holland, and it was not till the 10th January 1824, that he doubled the southern point of Van Diemen's Land. Sir Thomas Brisbane bestowed upon him a very kind reception at Sydney, and put at his disposal every thing which might contribute to the success of the operations in which the ship's company were engaged.

Duperrey remained at Port Jackson till the 20th March, when, setting sail for New Zealand, he arrived in the Bay of Islands at the beginning of the following month. After completing some repairs he again crossed the equator, and pursued his investigations in the Caroline Archipelago, which he had not formerly examined with a sufficient degree of minuteness. Being compelled by the monsoon to leave those seas, he directed his course towards the northern extremity of New Guinea; endeavouring, as he went along, to ascertain the true position of a number of small islands which were either very little known, or wrong placed in the common charts. At this stage of his progress, he spent some days in the harbour of Dorei; then passed on to Java through the Moluccas; anchored at Sourabaya on the 29th of August; got under weigh on the 11th of September; and in the beginning of the following month arrived at the Isle of France. In pursuance of the scientific objects with which he was charged, he touched at the Isle of Bourbon, St Helena, and Ascension; and on the 24th March 1825, he cast anchor in the road of Marseilles, after an absence of more than thirty-one months, and a run of about twenty-five thousand leagues.

It is not a little remarkable that during this protracted voyage, in a great variety of climates, not one man died, hardly any person had been sick, and no damage to ship

or rigging was sustained. Duperrey attributes the good state of health which his crew enjoyed both to the excellent quality of the water, preserved in iron tanks, and to the permission they had to use it without restriction. It is remarked by the Commissioners of the Royal Academy of Sciences, that if the uncommon good fortune with which the Coquille performed so long a voyage, without loss of masts, yards, or even injury to the sails, is to be attributed to a concourse of extraordinary circumstances on which it would be imprudent to place a constant reliance, it must at the same time be acknowledged that such chances are to be met with only by experienced seamen.

Both navigation and geography have reason to acknowledge their obligations to M. Duperrey, as well for the discovery of some islands on either side of the equator as for the more accurate knowledge communicated respecting several others, the existence of which had already been announced. Among the former are three low isles, not formerly recognised in any chart, which now bear the name of the commander of the Coquille. The natives distinguish them by the appellations of Ougai, Mongoul, and Aoura; their position being lat. 6° 39′ north, and long. 157° 29′ 25″ east. Another islet was perceived by D'Urville, one of the officers, whose name has since attained considerable distinction as a mariner, and to whose honour it is dedicated by the captain. It lies in lat. 7° 5′ 18″ north, and long. 150° 16′ 52″ east; but, though covered with a magnificent vegetation, its extent, it is admitted, is not great. In many cases it is difficult to determine the claim to originality in such surveys, especially where the question turns on longitude, which till the days of Cook was not ascertained with suitable accuracy.

But a greater value belongs to M. Duperrey's observations on magnetism, to which, indeed, his cares were particularly directed. In this respect, too, more especially, he was the coadjutor of Freycinet, in whose voyage he took a part, and to finish whose labours he

undertook the expedition of the Coquille. This is therefore the proper time to explain the object which they had in view, when instructed to use the pendulum and magnetic instruments, in the various lands and seas whither they bent their course in either hemisphere of our globe.

It is known to every student of natural philosophy, that there exists on the surface of the earth a curve, along which the magnetic needle lies in a horizontal position. This curve has been denominated the magnetic equator, and still continues to be the subject of investigations which have not yet produced results quite satisfactory either to the scientific inquirer or to the practical navigator. No single observer, whatever may be his zeal and industry, and no series of observations, however exact and long continued, if made at a single place, can add much to our knowledge of the highly intricate laws and relations which characterize terrestrial magnetism. For this purpose, the collection and comparison of observations, made in every region of the globe, and extending over long periods of time, are absolutely requisite. In order to master so large a subject, multitude must be brought to contend with mass; combination and concert to predominate over extent and diffusion; and systematic registry and reduction to fix the fugitive phenomena of the passing moment, and to lay them before the eye of reason in that methodical arrangement which brings spontaneously into notice both their agreements and their differences.

Regarded as a branch of that great assemblage of facts and theories which relate to the physical constitution of our planet, to the forces which bind together its mass and animate it with activity, the structure of its surface, its adaptation for life, to the history of its past changes, the nature, movement, and infinitely varied affections of the air and ocean, the science of terrestrial magnetism occupies a large and highly interesting place. Its relations lie among those mysterious powers which seem to constitute the most recondite secrets of in-

animate nature; and its phenomena form a singular exception to the character of stability and permanence which prevails in every other department of physics. The magnetic state of our globe is one of swift and ceaseless change. A few years suffice to alter materially, and the lapse of half a century to obliterate and completely remodel, the form and situation of those lines on its surface which geometers supposed to have been drawn, in order to give a general view of the direction and intensity of the magnetic forces at any given epoch. It is this feature, in fact, which constitutes the peculiar difficulty of the subject. Were the magnetic forces at every point of the earth's surface invariable, like the force of gravity, we should long ago have been in possession of complete magnetic charts. The report of every seaman and traveller would have added something permanent to our stock of knowledge; and truth would have emerged, even from inaccurate determinations, by the conflict and mutual destruction of opposite errors. As it is, the case is widely different. The changes are so rapid that it becomes necessary to assume epochs, which ought not to be more than ten years apart, to which every observation should be reduced. But to be able to accomplish this, it is requisite to know the rate of change for each locality; a degree of information we are so far from possessing, that there are vast regions of the globe over which we do not even know in what direction the change is taking place.

The exigencies of navigation have created the necessity of delineating, from time to time, a set of charts expressive of the variation of the compass, or the angle at which the needle declines from the true meridian at every point of the earth's surface. The first chart of this sort was constructed by the celebrated Halley, and was founded on a series of curves drawn through the points of equal declination or variation, as it was then called, so far as these points had been ascertained by travellers whether on sea or land. He directed

his researches with reference to a theory suggested by himself—that there are four points or rather regions of apparent convergence of the magnetic needle, two in each hemisphere, by the action of which we may account for all the changes that are taking place in every part of the earth. He regarded our globe as a great piece of clock-work, sphere within sphere, by which the poles of an internal magnet are carried round in a cycle of determinate but unknown periods. But his chart, owing to the effect of these incessant mutations, soon became obsolete; and hence, to satisfy the wants of the practical seaman, it has been found necessary to reconstruct it, after the lapse of certain intervals, and agreeably to the light of a renewed observation.

In this unsatisfactory state the doctrine on magnetic variation remained till the year 1811, when M. Hansteen, stimulated by the Royal Danish Academy, who announced a prize-essay on the subject, undertook to re-examine it, with the view of determining how far it might be possible to reconcile the results already attained with the supposition of two poles revolving round the pole of the world in indefinite periods; or whether, as Halley had asserted, four such poles were necessary; or, finally, whether the hypothesis of polar points be fully adequate to represent all the phenomena. With indefatigable labour he traced back the process of investigation to the very beginning of the seventeenth century, and filled up the interval, down to 1800, with a number of charts, so as to present at one view, as far as it could be done, the succession of states or phases through which this element has been passing during two hundred years. The result, apart from all theoretical considerations of poles and axes, is most curious and eminently instructive. The whole system of variation lines, with their intricate convolutions, is seen to be sweeping westward; not, however, in a mass, but each portion in its progress undergoing most singular modifications of form, and

gliding by gradations which it now becomes possible to trace, through all the varieties of oval, cusp, and node, in which the geometry of curves is known to abound. On these principles the scientific observer can show how beautifully this sort of moving panorama of magnetical influences explains, or at least enables us to conceive, the puzzling facts presented by the history of the needle's declination at particular spots: at London, for example, where, within a comparatively short time, it has moved from 11° east of the true meridian to 24° west of it, and thence begun its return in the opposite direction.

To complete our knowledge on this interesting subject, additional observations were still necessary in regard to three points, namely, the horizontal position of the needle, or its declination from the true meridian; its dip or inclination towards the centre of the earth; and, lastly, the intensity of the total magnetic force, or, in other words, the power with which, when withdrawn from its position of equilibrium, it tends to return to it. The discovery that this power is not equal in all parts of the globe, viewed as a fact clearly ascertained by observation, is of a date comparatively recent. At the commencement of the present century it remained unattested by experiment; while such is the diligence with which the subject has since been pursued, that charts are now delineated representing the course of the lines of equal intensity over both hemispheres, at no fewer than six hundred and seventy stations. In regard to the other particulars great improvements have also been made, and their effect has been to give to magnetic determinations, at least on land, the precision of astronomical observation; while at sea the limits of attainable accuracy, in moderate weather, have been much enlarged by the use of an ingenious apparatus which also serves to measure the intensity. Armed with instruments, and in possession of a theory which has proved competent to represent with fidelity the principal features of the phenomena,

it was impossible to remain any longer contented with loose or inaccurate results. It was indispensable that observations should be made on a large scale, and systematically pursued in all parts of the world, at sea and on shore, in the day and during the night. The time, in short, had evidently arrived for a united and powerful effort, on the part not of individuals but of nations, to place on record the actual state of those manifestations, and to render the present epoch a secure point whence future observers might commence their researches, and to which they might also refer as an authority.

The French voyages, of which we are giving some account, professed to have in view the improvement of magnetical science, more especially as connected with navigation. But the system of simultaneous observation on a large scale was not undertaken by the European states till a few years ago, when the importance of the matter was pressed upon their attention by Humboldt, to whose voyages in the equinoctial regions the studious class in Europe are so greatly indebted. In a letter to the president of the Royal Society of London, he urged the necessity of establishing regular magnetic observatories in Canada, Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and between the tropics, not only for marking the momentary perturbations of the needle, but also for recording its periodical and secular movements. This appeal to the learned body in question was not made in vain. The subject was readily taken up by their council, and an application was made to government for a grant of money to enable them to purchase instruments. At a somewhat later period the British Association made a movement in the same direction, adverting to the magnetical observations which had for some time been carried on in Germany as well as in various other parts of Europe, and the important results to which they had already led. They recommended that stations should be established not only in Canada and at the Cape, but also at Ceylon, St Helena, Van Diemen's Land, and the

Mauritius; offering to supply instruments for their use. They farther considered it highly important that the deficiency yet existing in our knowledge of terrestrial magnetism in the southern hemisphere, should be supplied by observations of the magnetic direction and intensity, especially in the high southern latitudes, between the meridians of New Holland and Cape Horn; and they strongly recommended to her Majesty's ministers the equipment of a naval expedition expressly directed to that object.

In consequence of these resolutions, a memorial was addressed to government, embodying the chief arguments for taking up the cause as a national concern, and specifying more particularly the objects proposed to be accomplished, as well as the means of effecting them. The presentation of this memorial was aided by the personal influence and arguments of several noblemen, who considered that great physical theories, with their train of practical consequences, are pre-eminently national objects, whether for glory or utility. Though it may be true that the movements of all representative governments are necessarily slow, it is no less true that British statesmen, so soon as they are satisfied of the importance of an object, take it up with a degree of spirit and liberality which seldom fails to ensure success. Every point suggested was ordered to be carried into full execution, and every observation recommended was provided for in the most ample manner. Ships, buildings, and instruments were ordered; and, what is of greater importance still, able officers were appointed to the several stations, selected at once for their scientific acquirements and their zeal in the particular undertaking.

The hearty adoption of this important measure by government soon called into activity the valuable co-operation of the Directors of the East India Company. They likewise resolved to establish in their dependencies no fewer than four observatories, similar to those founded by the cabinet, and devoted to a strictly simultaneous

course of notation. The stations thus ultimately fixed on were Madras; Simla, in the Himmaleh range, at the elevation of eight thousand feet; Singapore, as the farthest point which could be conveniently attained towards the east; and Aden on the Red Sea. This last is a locality highly important in itself, from its position with respect to the magnetic equator, which passes nearly through it, as well as from its constituting a link in a chain of stations extending from St Helena to Singapore.

It is not unworthy of remark that some of the other nations of Europe have engaged in this interesting pursuit with more than their usual heartiness and good-will. Russia, in her extensive dominions, has founded twelve stations well supplied with suitable apparatus and competent superintendents. The French have one at Algiers; and the Pasha of Egypt has so far followed the example of the western governments as to engage M. Lambert to conduct magnetical observations at Cairo. The Rajah of Travancore has also, it is said, joined the confederacy of scientific rulers, and procured an observer whose labours are fixed at Trivanderam.

The great interests of Britain as a maritime power naturally led to the appointment of a naval expedition, the officers of which might collect, in high and unfrequented latitudes, facts tending to illustrate the more irregular movements of the magnetic fluid when exposed to the action of intense cold. Two ships, the Erebus and Terror, were fitted out, and placed under the command of Captains Ross and Crozier, both of whom had signalized themselves by a spirit of resolution and perseverance in former voyages in the severest climates. Their field of exertion was exclusively the southern hemisphere, and more especially those regions which are least accessible to the ordinary navigator, and where, from the analogy of the arctic parallels, as well as from the general configuration of the magnetic lines so far as the existing charts can be trusted, there is reason to believe the most interesting inflections of those lines are situated. Among these may be included the southern

magnetic pole and the points of greatest intensity, to the former of which, assuming that only one exists, M. Gauss assigns, as the most probable situation, the latitude of 66° and the longitude of 140° E. On the correctness of this conclusion, the observations of Captain Ross and his assistants will enable the scientific world to decide; but it must not be forgotten that, owing to the great deficiency of antarctic researches, this theoretical position can only be regarded as a first approximation open to large corrections. We have already alluded to the discovery of an insular group nearly in the latitude now specified, and at the same time so situated in respect of longitude as to afford a station certainly on one side, and possibly also on the other, of the point in question. Should this discovery be verified to the full extent, a base will be afforded, at the extremities of which the convergence of the needle will hardly fail to point out the vicinity of the magnetic pole, should direct access to it be found impracticable. In truth, there is no portion of those seas, hitherto so imperfectly explored, at which magnetic observations will not be found of the greatest interest. Wherever it may be possible to land and observe, especially on the polar ice, the determinations, as they will there be obtained with perfect precision, and free from all local influence, will possess the highest value, especially in those cases where it may have been convenient to erect the magnetometers with which the officers were furnished, and collect observations for the diurnal changes and disturbances.

Although the main object of this enterprise is the collection of such facts as may lead hereafter to the development of the magnetic principle in all parts of the globe, other important ends were not overlooked by the agents of government, to whose care the preparations for it were intrusted. Never, it is believed, did an expedition leave the shores of England so largely provided with apparatus of every description for philosophical investigation, and with instructions embracing so many

points of scientific research. These last were supplied by a committee of the Royal Society; and such as relate to the depth, constitution, temperature, and currents of the ocean, are calculated to excite a lively interest among all whose thoughts have ever been turned to the great works of nature. The explanation of the oceanic currents, it is every where admitted, can never be complete until we shall be made acquainted with the elements which affect the density of the water at different depths, and the action of the forces which produce the disturbance of its equilibrium, both in direct weight and lateral pressure. The form and course of the channels, too, which result from the powerful currents near the bottom, and by means whereof the water finds its way from the polar basins to the equatorial seas, may be in some measure ascertained by a regular process of soundings. On this head, it is mentioned that Captain Ross has already arrived at some very remarkable results, having so completely overcome the difficulty which attaches to this operation, as to have sunk his lead to a depth exceeding all former experience. In one instance, he is said to have effected a sounding below the surface of the ocean, exceeding the height of Mont Blanc above it; and that, too, with a facility and certainty which promise to afford a speedy solution of the long-agitated question as to the mean and greatest depth of the sea in both hemispheres. The communications which have been received from him have not yet been so complete, or so satisfactorily connected with the observations made at the other stations in Asia, Africa, and Europe, as to justify any decided conclusion in regard to the chief object of research,—the action, namely, of the magnetic principle taken in connexion with its intensity on various parts of the earth's surface, its periodical declination, and its local dip.*

* The reader will find ample materials for forming a judgment on this interesting point of physical science in the "Rapport" prefixed to Duperrey's Voyage autour du Monde; Gauss's Intensitas Vis Magneticæ Terrestris; Lettre de M. de Humboldt à S. A. R.

The reader will now understand what were the ostensible and perhaps the real purposes contemplated by the French government when they fitted out the expeditions commanded by Freycinet and Duperrey. The Coquille crossed the magnetic equator six times. Two of the points, the exact position of which was ascertained, are situated in the Atlantic Ocean, long. 24° 59′ 7″ W., and lat. 12° 27′ 11″ S.; and long. 12° W., and lat. 9° 45′ S. On these results, it is concluded that the line without inclination, or the point where it coincides with the terrestrial equator, had varied since the year 1780 not less than one degree fifty-one minutes. It is therefore remarked by the committee of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris that, agreeably to the various calculations which they have been able to make, there exists a locomotive power in the magnetic equator. By weighing and comparing the whole of the observations made in the South Sea, they imagine that they may fairly congratulate themselves on the complete certainty to which they have attained in respect to this important question. The journals kept on board the Uranie and Coquille contain all the elements necessary to the calculations by which they hope to arrive at a final conclusion, which, in their opinion, is one of the most interesting that can be undertaken in reference to the phenomena of terrestrial magnetism.

It was to complete the labours of Duperrey that M. Dumont D'Urville, who had served in the Coquille as a lieutenant, received, in December 1825, the command of the Astrolabe, a vessel falling under the general denomination of corvette, and corresponding to an English sloop of war. He was directed to explore the principal archipelagos of the great ocean north and south of the equatorial line, and more especially the coasts of New Zealand and those of New Guinea. After pursuing his course in the Atlantic towards the southern hemisphere,

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Le Duc de Sussex; and in an Article in the Quarterly Review, No. CCCXXXI. p. 271.

and passing the Cape of Good Hope, his instructions farther guided him to Bass's Strait, Port Jackson, Cook's Straits, the Friendly Isles, the Fijees, New Caledonia, the Louisiade, New Britain, the Caroline group, of which he was more particularly to examine the western shores, thence to steer for the Isle of France, and, finally, to make his passage for Toulon.*

Besides the discovery of new lands, the captain was instructed to make search for La Perouse and his unfortunate companions, whose memory was still cherished in France, and whose fate continued to excite a painful curiosity. It has been already mentioned that an American sailor had seen in the hands of the natives of a small island, situated between the Louisiade and New Caledonia, a cross of St Louis and certain medals, which, he concluded, must have been obtained from the wreck of the French ships. But a more recent as well as more certain indication of that catastrophe was afforded by Mr Dillon, the commander of a vessel in the service of the East India Company. In the year 1813, he found in one of the Fijee islands two mariners, a Prussian named Martin Bushart and a lascar, both of whom appear to have been deserters. At their earnest request he transported them to an islet, the celebrity of which has since procured for it a place in modern maps under the designation of Tucopia; and the inhabitants, being of a mild and pacific disposition, received the strangers without manifesting any hostile sentiment.

In the year 1826, Dillon, in the course of a trading voyage in that quarter of the Pacific, again touched at

* Though not of much interest, it may not be improper to mention that the "Astrolabe" commanded by D'Urville was no other than the "Coquille," the corvette in which M. Duperrey had accomplished his circumnavigation of the globe. "La Corvette *La Coquille*, dont la solidité venait d'être éprouvée par le voyage de M. Duperrey, qui avait eu M. Dumont D'Urville pour second, fut mise à la disposition de ce dernier, et prit le nom de *L'Astrolabe*, c'est a dire, celui du vaisseau que montait La Perouse. Bibliothèque Universelle, tome xviii. p. 208.

Tucopia, and found the two seamen in very comfortable circumstances, apparently not regretting that they had renounced the comforts together with the cares of civilized life. The lascar sold to the armourer of the English ship the handle of a sword made of silver, having a cipher inscribed on it. Upon being informed of this transaction, the captain naturally became curious to learn how such a piece of French manufacture could have been conveyed into an island so little frequented by traders from any kingdom of the west. Martin informed him that this article as well as many others composed of iron were found in the hands of the natives, who, they themselves said, had procured them from an isle at a considerable distance called Manicolo, where two European ships had been wrecked, about forty years prior to that date. It immediately occurred to Mr Dillon that the vessels in question must be the two frigates which had composed the expedition of La Perouse, whose end was still uncertain, notwithstanding the investigations ordered by government and executed by D'Entrecasteaux. The latter officer was indeed on several occasions very near the island of Manicolo, which M. D'Urville has since named Vanikoro, after the native manner of pronouncing the word, and which the other contented himself with calling the Isle de la Recherche, in reference to the name of one of the ships which he commanded; not imagining that this appellation would one day be justified by an English navigator, or that in so insignificant a place was to be found the object of the laborious explorations which he had conducted in both hemispheres of the earth.

At an interview which afterwards took place, the lascar declared to Captain Dillon that six years previously he had gone to Manicolo, where he saw two aged individuals who had obtained a share of the property found on board the wrecks. Knowing the interest which the whole civilized world took in the fortunes of La Perouse, and how desirous the French nation in particular were to obtain information in regard to him, the

Englishman immediately resolved to proceed to the same island in person, though he already began to be in want of provisions. He engaged Martin Bushart and one of the natives to accompany him thither, promising a remuneration which was esteemed by them quite satisfactory. At the end of two days they came in sight of Manicolo; but the violence of the currents and the danger of the coral reefs which surround it, prevented the ship from approaching it during a whole week. Want of supplies at length compelled him to relinquish the attempt, when he bore away for New Zealand, whither he also carried the Prussian sailor, who was destined to act a conspicuous part in the discovery about to be made by M. D'Urville.

Before his departure for Calcutta, Dillon gave an assurance that he would endeavour to interest the agents of the East India Company there in the search for the relics of La Perouse's squadron. In this object he was quite successful, finding a lively sympathy on the part of the local authorities both in the civil department and among those who presided over the pursuits of science. The Asiatic Society, for example, long established in that city, joined with the provincial government in recommending as assistant to the captain a medical gentleman whose qualifications fitted him to act as a naturalist, and even as the historian of the enterprise. They, in like manner, invited the superintendent of the French settlement at Chandernagore to select an agent who might take part in the voyage, as his countrymen were more deeply concerned than the people of any other nation in its success. Agreeably to this suggestion, M. Chaigniau was sent on board Dillon's ship, which, on this occasion, was equipped at the sole expense of the English Company. It is to be regretted that these promising appearances produced no result favourable to the cause of humanity or even of private benevolence. During the passage to Van Diemen's Land there arose between the captain and the doctor so many causes of dissension, that, upon their

arrival, the latter raised an action against the chief of the crew for personal grievances, insult, and ill treatment. Dillon was sentenced to three months' imprisonment; but after a brief restraint, in compliance with the award of justice, he was liberated and permitted to prosecute his voyage.

As the occurrences now mentioned took place some time after Dumont D'Urville had left Europe, he was in consequence entirely ignorant of all the facts and suggestions connected with them. But having in the course of his voyage touched at Hobart Town, and received some account of the proceedings which had passed under the auspices of the mercantile commander, he set sail for the Manicolo group on the 5th day of January 1828. On the 10th of February, he reached Tucopia, where Dillon had found the Prussian sailor, whose narrative, as has been already shown, threw great light on the shipwreck of La Perouse. This foreigner, who had recently returned from New Zealand, promised at first to accompany D'Urville to Vanikoro, but afterwards, without assigning any distinct reason, positively declined. The captain of the Astrolabe found it impossible to induce any of the natives to serve him on this interesting occasion, owing to their dread of fever, which seems to have raged for some time on board; he was therefore obliged to satisfy himself with the aid of two English seamen who nine months before had secretly withdrawn themselves from one of their national ships.

On the 19th, the Astrolabe attained the island, and began a minute examination of the eastern coast, where was found a small haven, which, though offering shelter, was rendered nearly inaccessible by coral reefs. Not meeting with any success to gratify their hopes or reward their exertions, the crew turned their thoughts to the opposite side of the isle, where, from certain remains of European commodities in possession of the inhabitants, they derived additional confirmation to their belief that their unfortunate countrymen had perished in the neigh-

bourhood. But the natives, actuated by some reason which could not be conjectured, refused to indicate the place where the catastrophe had actually occurred. At length one of the officers, by presenting a piece of red cloth, induced an individual to conduct a boat's company to the spot at which the lamented navigator had unquestionably closed his career. Having arrived at a certain point, the Frenchmen perceived scattered along the bottom of the sea, at the depth of three or four fathoms, anchors, guns, bullets, bars of iron and lead, particularly an immense number of sheets of the latter metal. The whole of the timber had disappeared, and the smaller articles, whether of copper or iron, were corroded by the rust, and completely disfigured. M. D'Urville occupied his people several days in recovering from the water all the things that could be reached; among which were an anchor weighing eighteen hundred pounds, and a small cannon, both much eaten by rust, and covered with a thick coating of coral. Besides these were a bar of lead, and two brass swivels, in a tolerable state of preservation. The sight of these objects, added to the information supplied by the natives, some of whom remembered the event, left no doubt on the minds of the captain and his officers that the frigates Boussole and Astrolabe had gone to pieces on the reefs of Vanikoro.

Nothing now remained but to mark the epoch of discovery by some token which might keep in remembrance at once the painful event which cost to France the lives of so many brave sailors, and the fortunate chance which led their countrymen, after the lapse of nearly half a century, to the possession of evidence which has removed all doubt as to the nature of the accident which brought their services to a termination so much to be lamented. M. D'Urville resolved to erect near the anchorage a small monument to the memory of the intrepid navigators whose bones were now mingled with the sand on that fatal shore, and which, at the same time, might commemorate the arrival of the second Astrolabe in search of their relics. The cenotaph, which was

placed in a small grove, was consecrated by three discharges of musketry and a salvo of twenty-one guns.

Forming his opinions on the narrative supplied by the natives, the captain considered it probable that the ships of La Perouse dashed themselves against the shelves of Vanikoro, in a dark night, after a gale of wind. One of them must have struck on the southern part of the coast, and sunk in a short time, after about thirty of the men had escaped to the land: the other frigate seems to have gone ashore to the leeward of the island, and to have remained during a considerable space entire. In this case the whole of the crew are understood to have been saved, and to have constructed a schooner out of the materials of the wreck, which could neither be repaired nor removed from the rocks. This labour occupied seven moons; which period having elapsed, the Frenchmen left Vanikoro, with the exception of two of their number, who died about a couple of years afterwards. But as to the issue of the voyage in the little vessel, her destination, or the fate of those who embarked in her, no intelligence has ever been received, no conjecture has ever been uttered. It is but too probable that the miserable survivors only enjoyed a short reprieve from the fearful destiny which haunted the expedition from the moment it left its original port, and that they were eventually swallowed up by the ocean which had already received the bodies of their companions.

The group of Vanikoro, or Manicolo, is said to be composed of four islands, of which two possess a considerable size and elevation, while the two others are very small and low: but, in point of fact, when viewed from a short distance, the whole appear as only one, and are not unfrequently so described. A coral reef, thirty or forty miles in circuit, surrounds them like a girdle at a certain interval from the shore; occasional breaches permitting the passage of canoes from the little harbours to the ocean. The sheet of water between this wall and the land is always in the most perfect tranquillity, even

when the waves outside are in a state of violent agitation. The surface of the islands is in general mountainous, covered with thick forests and a rich vegetation, in consequence of the incessant humidity with which the soil is softened under a climate remarkable for heavy rains and frequent fogs.

This cluster, it is understood, was first noticed by Captain Edwards in 1791, who, not observing that there are more than one, gave to it the name of Pitt Island; and, as has been already stated, it is the same which D'Entrecasteaux, in 1793, called "Isle de la Recherche." Dillon was the second navigator who touched the coast, and D'Urville the third; the natives, it is asserted, never having seen European ships before the accident which befell La Perouse. Vanikoro is now included in the archipelago of the New Hebrides; an acquisition which, if any right can be based on the circumstance of prior discovery, might be claimed by the British crown.

We shall not follow M. Dumont d'Urville in his minute details on the character, manners, and amusements of the people of New Zealand, nor in his remarks on the climate and productions of their country. They have, he assures his readers, so exalted an idea of courage and military talent, that the name of Bonaparte, which had recently reached their ears, was never pronounced without admiration. They had even proceeded so far in their adoration of the fallen emperor, as to bestow his family appellation on the most gallant of their chiefs; a circumstance the accuracy of which might perhaps be questioned when it is called to mind that more than ten years had elapsed since the period when the hero of the Revolution set an example of flight from a field of battle where his fame and crown were at stake, and where thousands of brave men had proved to him that they thought it more honourable to die than to purchase a brief addition to a despised life by deserting his army in distress.*

* "Les Nouveaux-Zélandais ont une si haute idée de la valeur guerrière, que le nom de Bonaparte, arrivé jusqu'à eux par un de

His countrymen claim for D'Urville, and not without reason, the merit of diligent research in the most dangerous sections of the Pacific, and maintain that by his discoveries he filled up many voids in the charts of the Great Ocean. He was the first, they assert, who explored in a satisfactory manner the northern coast of New Guinea, to the extent of more than four hundred leagues, and surveyed, with greater minuteness than even Captain Cook could accomplish, about one-half of the shore of New Zealand. He made himself acquainted with nearly all the Fijee group, comprehending not less than one hundred islands, many of which were at that epoch very imperfectly known; and he threw a distinct light on the southern portion of New Britain, embracing a line of coast somewhat above three hundred miles. With similar diligence and equal success, he examined the Carolines, the Moluccas, and the vast borders of Australia.

His contributions to the various branches of natural science are still more highly valued than those to geography. The stores which he and the companions of his voyage brought to France are said to have exceeded the highest expectations of the Institute. M. Cuvier in his report hesitates not to declare, that the different collections of the Astrolabe, manned by those new argonauts of philosophy, are more considerable than the united accumulations of all preceding navigators. The superintendent of the garden of plants was quite embarrassed by the vast accessions made to his genera and species; cellars and vaults were filled with new varieties in the interesting department of animal life; and the professor of geology found that his injunctions were not neglected either in America or in any of the less frequented archipelagos of the South Sea.

In a word, the objects contemplated by those who originated the expeditions of Freycinet, Duperrey, and D'Urville, had a much more intimate relation to the

leur chefs venu en Europe, n'est prononcé qu'avec admiration dans l'isle." P. 276.

civil and natural history of countries already discovered, than to the expansion of our knowledge in regard to the proportions of land and water on the surface of the globe, or the extent of the former which still remains unknown. It made no part of their undertaking to winter within the frozen circles, or to ascertain how near to either pole may be found the abode of terrestrial animals possessing warm blood. The captains of the Uranie, Coquille, and Astrolabe, found greater satisfaction in compiling the annals of Brazil, Timor, and New Holland, than in scouring the high latitudes of the antarctic zone. Freycinet, no doubt, brought home a great number of facts illustrative of the physical history of the earth; Duperrey distinguished himself by a minute survey of some portion of New Zealand and the Caroline cluster, as well as by numerous observations connected with magnetism, viewed in its application to maritime travelling; and Dumont d'Urville added to the little knowledge we formerly possessed of New Guinea, on the coast of which, as already noticed, he spent a lengthened period. To the same intrepid seaman we are indebted for some judicious remarks on the languages of Polynesia; a subject to which his attention was directed with no small degree of success.

Bougainville, usually termed the younger, was intrusted with the command of the Thetis and Espérance, the former a frigate, the latter a corvette, and proceeded on his voyage in the month of March 1824. In this case discovery was not the main object, nor did he receive any special instructions relative to scientific research. The intention of the government was to show the French flag in the Indian Ocean and Chinese waters, as the means of increasing or protecting their commerce in those distant parts of the world. On the 26th April, the Thetis approached the Cape of Good Hope, and on the 5th May, when in lat. 39° S. and long. 37° 40′ E., the magnetic variation was found to have attained its maximum, namely, 32° 12′ W., but it decreased immediately as she steered to the eastward. Towards the end of

June, the commander found himself in Pondicherry, to the description of which he devotes a whole chapter. He contrasts in lively phrase the monotonous uniformity of the white town with the animated scene presented by the junglers, the bazaars, and the attractive dances of the Bayadières in the black town. The population of the five French establishments in India, Pondicherry, Chandernagore, Carical, Mahé, and Yanaon, he states at four thousand whites and a hundred and thirty-two thousand of Hindoo extraction.

After some stay at Manilla and Macao, M. Bougainville proceeded to the Isle of Hai-nan, and in January 1825, he anchored in the bay of Touran, on the coast of Cochin-China, where he spent about a month, having been intrusted with a mission to the ruler of the country, occasionally styled emperor, in the discharge of which he was supplied with an opportunity of seeing a little of the manners and usages of the inhabitants, whose character is hardly known to any European people. The Thetis next proceeded to Sourabaya, on the northern shore of Java; and in the course of the passage the officers examined the Anambas, a group of islands extending 150 miles from north to south, and as much from east to west, being distant from the Malay peninsula rather more than thirty leagues. Some of the isles rise up in blocks of granite, with white marks similar to those of the Pedro Branco in the Strait of Malacca. Their general structure indeed is granitic, with coral reefs in all the sheltered spots: the number is conjectured to be about fifty; the height is moderate; the surface is generally well wooded; and the inhabitants, supposed to be chiefly pirates, amount to 1500 or 2000. The position of twenty-two of the principal points in the cluster was accurately determined; and the whole are confined within the parallels of 3° 27′ and 1° north of the equator, their longitude extending from 106° to 108° 21′ east.

The ships, proceeding southward, ran through the dangerous Strait of Gaspar, examined the Carimon-Java

Islands, cleared the channel of Madura, and on the 20th March anchored again off Sourabaya, where they remained six weeks, the crews suffering much from sickness. Quitting Java, and steering through the gut of Allass, M. Bougainville surveyed the shores of the island of Lombok, and the roadstead of Tanjour; this last being declared the best on the coast, and far superior to that of Bali, hitherto much more commonly frequented. Keeping their heads still in the same direction, the Thetis and Espérance rounded successively the south-western point of Australia and the southern extremity of Van Diemen's Land, arriving on the 1st July at Port Jackson. Here the commodore remained three months, collecting materials for his fourteenth chapter, which contains a description of the colony of New South Wales, at once accurate and candid. Upon leaving the British settlement, he held a direct course for South America; and on the 23d November, cast anchor on the coast of Chili, having made a passage of six thousand miles across the Great Ocean, without once making land. He remarked that the current had carried the frigate and corvette 163 miles towards the north, and 125 towards the east; and that the variation, or, more properly, the declination of the compass had increased from 8° 30′ to 13°. It began to decrease in long. 177° east, and reached its minimum, 5°, in long. 123° west. From this point it varied slightly between 7° and 8° as far as long. 105° west, when it again lessened to 5°. It shortly afterwards increased to 13° and even 16°, and remained unaltered till the arrival of the expedition at Valparaiso. After a residence of six weeks at the port just named, Bougainville set sail for Rio Janeiro, the harbour of which he entered on the 21st March 1826; and again putting to sea in the beginning of April, he finally anchored at Brest on the 24th June, having been absent two years and four months.

During the whole of this voyage, great attention was paid to meteorology in general, as well as to the more common magnetical observations which have a reference

to the working of the mariner's needle and the declination of the compass. The indications of the barometer, thermometer, and hydrometer, were registered four times every day. The appendix to the first volume of his work, accordingly, contains a list of a hundred and fifty geographical positions determined by the several officers, with a discussion of the principles on which their conclusions are founded.

It is remarkable that the crews employed in this expedition, not less than the men on board the Astrolabe, suffered extremely from disease, more especially a malignant species of fever, incident to the climate of the Indian archipelago and the coast of Japan. As the air was understood to be the medium by which the morbific influence was conveyed, change of scene was the natural remedy, and seldom proved ineffectual.*

The motives whence originated the voyage of La Place, of which we are now to give an outline, were similar to those which gave birth to that of Bougainville, namely, the extension of commerce, and the renewal of political relations with certain kingdoms in the East, who had formerly received the flag of the French people on friendly terms. As soon indeed as the treaty of peace with England was signed in 1814, the government of Paris entertained the project of sending armed ships into the seas of India and of China, with the view of reviving an intercourse, interrupted during more than twenty years, and of marking out to merchantmen a

* Journal de la Navigation autour du Globe, de la frégate la Thetis et de la corvette Espérance, pendant les années 1824-26. Par M. le Baron de Bougainville, Capitaine de Vaisseau, 2 tomes quarto. Paris, 1837.

The compiler of the Bibliothèque Universelle remarks that "M. de Bougainville rapportait de riches collections d'histoire naturelle, qui ont été deposées au Jardin des Plantes. Il avait verifié ou determiné les positions d'un grand nombre de points importans des mers de l'Inde et de la Chine: et ramenant sains et saufs ses équipages, joyeux d'avoir terminé heureusement une aussi belle campagne, il pouvait, a son tour, leur faire l'application de ce vers de Virgile, par lequel se termine le voyage de son pere:

'Puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.'"

path on the ocean which they had entirely lost the habit of pursuing. A corvette, named La Favorite, carrying twenty-four guns, with a crew of two hundred and fifty men, was placed under the command of Captain La Place, who set sail from Toulon on the 30th December 1829.

To make up the full supply of provisions, indispensable to a ship of which the destination comprehended a prolonged stay among tribes many of whom have attained only a slight degree of civilisation, the Favorite came to anchor in the Isle of Goree, a French settlement on the coast of Senegal. The historian of the voyage supplies to the reader a great variety of details respecting this colony, the fortunes of which have not been always unclouded. Suffice it to mention that the soil is entirely of volcanic origin, and the whole extent not more than five miles in circuit. It possesses a few mansions of rather a good appearance, inhabited by Europeans; the population in general being composed of negroes and mulattoes, the same people who occupy the villages which skirt the neighbouring shores of Africa. On the 7th March, M. La Place arrived at Port Louis in the Isle of France, the view of which, not less beautiful than magnificent, was well fitted to excite the admiration of a crew who were nearly all strangers to the sea and to the aspect of foreign scenery. At the bottom of the bay was discovered the town, the houses and the trees which surround them, composing a variegated line at the foot of lofty picturesque mountains, the summits of which are concealed in the clouds. In visiting the environs of the port, the captain discovered among the peasants the complexion and character of those of France, their ancient country. To the delicious climate of the isle the colonists, he relates, add the grace and the easy manners, together with the benevolence and delicacy with which the French know how to embellish every act of hospitality. These cultivators had just recovered a little from the crisis to which they had been exposed by the destruction of their coffee planta-

tions, to make way for the introduction of the sugar-cane; the inhabitants of the south having found some compensation for their losses by substituting a variety of grapes which had greatly reduced the price of wines.

La Place remarks that an active rivalry had taken place between the colonists and the English, and that the national feeling had pronounced itself with great strength against the latter. The natives, he adds, have never ceased to regret the loss of that protection which was extended to them by their former government; and in particular societies, more especially the theatre, they seize every occasion to manifest their sympathies towards France. Young persons, in particular, eagerly caught every allusion unfavourable to the English nation; and as on several occasions disturbances were excited by the impetuosity of their feelings, the governor found himself compelled to issue orders for closing that place of public amusement. A few days before the arrival of the Favorite, the actors had embarked for the Isle of Bourbon.

Yielding to the associations connected with the pathetic romance of Paul and Virginia, the commander of the corvette has no difficulty in tracing the lineaments of the scene which the genius of Saint Pierre has rendered so celebrated. He laments that the rage for sugar cultivation, excited by the fatal genius of speculative commerce, has destroyed the long avenues of trees, the leafy branches of which used to protect the youthful lovers from the oppressive rays of the mid-day sun. Instead of the beautiful shrubs which adorned the banks of the rivulet and the lower declivity of the hills, nothing is seen but stiff canes, which supply neither the verdure of spring nor the sweet scents of the maturer year. In short, there is every where the most irresistible and odious proof that the avarice of the English has superseded the pure taste and love of nature which have always distinguished the French.

In reference to the capabilites of the Isle of Bourbon, it is observed that part of the provisions required by the

inhabitants must be supplied by the people of Madagascar. No cattle can be produced in the former for want of pasturage; poultry is scarce; and the rice is of very inferior quality. The inhabitants, nevertheless, show themselves at once industrious and indefatigable. The rich live like princes in their several establishments; but it cannot be too much regretted that a restless spirit torments society, springing from the numerous lines of demarcation which it has every where introduced. Generally speaking, the colonists seem less affable than those of the Mauritius; a remark, however, which does not extend to the ladies, who are in every respect equal to their lively neighbours of Port Louis.

Passing the Mahé Islands and the Maldives, the Favorite, early in June, attained the island of Ceylon, concerning which the captain indulges in a few remarks, which indicate a very slight acquaintance with the state of society, or with the views of the English government. At Pondicherry he has access to a more ample fund of information, and is disposed to view the current of events under a benigner aspect. Scarcely had he landed when he found himself surrounded by a class of persons called "dubashis," who are described as guides quite indispensable to a stranger who touches at those ports. It is, in fact, absolutely necessary to accept the services of one of the order. He controls all the expenses of the individual who confides himself to his direction, who must neither buy nor sell any thing except in his presence. In order to protect his client from deception, he procures a house for him, and furnishes it with every commodity which his temporary residence may require. He chooses and commands all the domestics; he never quits his master; he serves him at table; he is his guide during the day, and sleeps at the door of his chamber during the night. For the discharge of these various offices he receives a monthly salary, independently of the little advantages he may derive from the purchases he makes, on which he regularly exacts a commission. The European cannot withdraw himself from this gentle

thraldom; and he would have little reason to congratulate himself on his emancipation were he to accomplish it.

The Indians of Pondicherry are called Talingas, and occupy in it a position similar to that which is held by the natives of Auvergne in the capital of France; for while these last are carriers of water, the others are bearers of palanquins. Though the town may trace its origin to the commencement of the sixteenth century, the date of the first French expedition to the East Indies, it was not till a period comparatively recent that it acquired any degree of prosperity. It is situated on the border of an immense plain, where the view has no other boundary than a few small hills towards the south-west, and whence are the sources of several springs which prove of the utmost value to the inhabitants, who use the water as the means of beautifying the vicinity and augmenting the produce of their gardens. The territorial possessions of the citizens do not, however, extend more than a mile from the sea, for at this point the English rule commences.

It is well known that in India religion has prohibited to its votaries the use of any thing in the form of nourishment which has lived: and it is for this reason that Europeans, the eaters of animal food, are so lightly esteemed in many parts of the east. The sight of a boot or a shoe, made of leather, makes the believer in Brama recoil with disgust and horror. It is therefore impossible to find a menial servant except among the pariahs, a class of men despised by the rest of the Hindoos, because they feed on the flesh of the cow.

From Pondicherry M. La Place proceeded to Madras, of which, in his usual manner, he writes with no small degree of minuteness. Viewed from the sea, the town presents nothing which could indicate the magnificence which really belongs to it. Fort St George supplies a very inadequate protection against any attack which might be made on it by an enemy's fleet; while the ditch and rampart which stretch along the side next the

land, appear no more than sufficient to check the assault of native troops without heavy ordnance. But a quay, stretching not less than a mile and a half in length, covered with convenient dwellings and large warehouses, gives a very favourable idea of the opulence and commerce of that great city. Still, to the eye of a Frenchman, it appeared dull and uninteresting. The etiquette, which policy as well as the natural disposition of men in power have established among the educated class, was felt by the strangers as a great annoyance. It is, besides, destitute of a theatre, where the idle hours of seamen might be rendered less oppressive than they usually are on a long voyage; the heat was intolerable, the water bad, and prices high; and therefore the captain of the Favorite was not disposed to express any regret when the lofty palace of the governor retired from his view as he steered for Yanaon, a small establishment on the coast of Bengal.

The place now named offers to the eye of the traveller a number of beautiful habitations, carefully white-washed, and surrounded with fine trees. The colony founded there is dependent on Pondicherry, under whose paternal administration it has enjoyed considerable prosperity. The town stands on the point of land formed by the Godavery, where, about nine miles from the sea, it divides itself into two streams, by both of which it maintains a communication with the ocean. Little attracted by the interests which respect manufactures, trade, or political power, M. La Place devotes several pages to the merits and attractions of the female dancers on the shores of the great bay. Their movements, he gravely assures his readers, have no resemblance to those of the "nymphs of the opera at Paris," and then proceeds to unfold their comparative excellencies in terms which can be understood by those only who have had the benefit of that enlightened education which seems to be conferred in the capital of France upon the young aspirants for naval honours.

On the second of August, the Favorite, leaving the

anchorage of Yanaon, proceeded towards the Strait of Malacca, and, on the tenth, arrived at Pulo Penang, a flourishing emporium established on the eastern side of its entrance. This island, it is related, was bestowed as a marriage-gift, about the close of last century, on a young Englishman, the master of a trading vessel, who had attracted the regards of a daughter of the sovereign of Queda. The fortunate bridegroom, embarrassed by his immense property, separated from the Malay peninsula by a channel not more than a league in width, transferred his rights to the East India Company, who, after raising suitable fortifications, gave to it the name of Prince of Wales' Island, instead of the one by which it was formerly known.

The relations which subsist between this settlement and the Malays have furnished to the ingenious navigator an opportunity of commenting at considerable length on the character of that people, both in their physical and moral qualities. Ferocious in a high degree, they have reduced their women to the severest slavery and most degraded condition. So far as they can be said to have any religion, they acknowledge the authority of Mohammed; but while, like the other disciples of that impostor, they are remarkable for their sobriety, they are not less so for robbery and murder. Entering the Chinese waters, the crew of the Favorite soon beheld the island of Pulo Condore; a spot distinguished for its pestilential climate, for rains which fall during eight months of the year, and for venomous serpents which infest its woods. It is nevertheless inhabited by a few miserable fugitives from Cambodia and Cochin-China.

The next anchorage was found at Manilla in Luçon, the capital of the Philippine Archipelago. The town was understood to contain about ten thousand inhabitants, and about half as many dwell in Cavité, the seaport and principal seat of trade. This last is said to consist of a mass of ill-built houses, separated by narrow dirty streets, and containing a miserable population. The natives, who have allowed themselves to be converted to the christian faith, show great respect to the priests, and

lavish no small share of their wealth on the decoration of the churches; the architecture of which, it is remarked, by no means corresponds to the magnificence witnessed within. La Place made several excursions into the interior of Luçon, where he collected numerous objects of natural history. He visited the pretty little town of Santa Cruz, which stands near a lake on the verge of a fertile plain, and derives some wealth from the wines produced in the neighbourhood.

The Favorite next proceeded to Macao, where the captain made preparations with the view of continuing his voyage to Canton, and completing certain commercial negotiations into which the French consul had entered with the Chinese government. His description of the river which leads to that mercantile city, of the adjoining country and population, possesses all the interest which arises from the freshness of a first impression and of a lively style. It is divided into two towns equally large, and much crowded with inhabitants. The one is at some distance from the river, and surrounded with walls having a few small gates, the entrance of which is strictly prohibited to all foreigners. This is, properly speaking, the ancient Canton, which appears to contain more than five hundred thousand souls. Here are found the great manufactories and workshops. New Canton stands on the bank of the river, and has no enclosure; for which reason it is considered by the people as only one of the suburbs of the old town. The shops and warehouses have quite a European look; a remark which also applies to some of the private houses. At the door of his dwelling the merchant is seen smoking his long pipe, and waiting with the utmost patience the arrival of customers. The appearance of the different streets varies in most cases only according to the several trades which are pursued in them; but the residences of the chief mandarins attract attention by a display of great luxury. No carriage nor beast of burden is used in the public ways: nor does the barking of dogs or the cry of any other domestic animal reach the ear of a stranger: but, at

every turn, there are observed numbers of blind beggars, whose only resource is the benevolence of the charitable. It is well known that many of the lower class live in boats, fitted up as houses, and permanently moored in the river; the effect of which at night is said to be quite magical, owing to the infinite number of lights which twinkle along the surface of the water.

After a short residence at the isle of Hai-nan, M. La Place sailed for the coast of Tonquin, a portion of eastern Asia very little known to European navigators; and his journal contains some interesting remarks as well on the country as the native inhabitants. On his return he visited the little archipelago of the Natunas, and afterwards that of the Anambas, which are described by Duperrey. Steering towards the south, the adventurers soon found themselves within sight of the high lands of Java; and in due time they reached Port Jackson, where they obtained at once the enjoyment of a repose which had become absolutely necessary to them, and a supply of provisions, without which they could not have crossed the wide ocean that lay between them and the land of their birth. In the meanwhile the captain made himself acquainted with all the recent discoveries in Australia, those more especially beyond the Blue Mountains, and on the line of the river named Lachlan, now rendered familar to the English reader by the valuable work of Sturt. From Sydney he directed his course to the Bay of Islands in New Zealand, and thence to Chili, Cape Horn, and Rio Janeiro. On the first of April 1832, he attained the pleasant shores of Madeira; whence he resumed the voyage with his face turned to the Straits of Gibraltar, which he had passed, more than three years before, devoted to the enterprise now successfully accomplished, and full of hopes most of which had been realized.*

* Voyage autour du Monde par les mers de l'Inde et de Chine, exécuté sur la Corvette de l'Etat La Favorite, pendant les années 1830, 1831, et 1832, sous le commandement de M. La Place, Capitaine de Frégate, &c., 4 tomes. Paris, 1833-1835.

At the end of the fourth volume, M. La Place writes as follows: "Là finissait la tâche du l'officier de marine, ici se termine celle de

The object of the more recent of these undertakings, sanctioned by the French government, was not, as has been already indicated, to accomplish the discovery of new lands: it was rather to extend and protect commerce in the South Sea, China, in the insular territories belonging to Japan, and throughout the great archipelagoes of the Indian Ocean. In combination with that purpose may no doubt be distinctly traced an ardent desire to promote those branches of natural philosophy which minister to the advancement of navigation, more especially physical astronomy and terrestrial magnetism. Hence it results that the voyages of Freycinet, Duperrey, and La Place are less interesting to the geographer than they are to the merchant, the manufacturer, the nautical artist, and the scientific pilot.

In detailing the proceedings of the French marine under the rule of Bonaparte, the attention of the reader was drawn to the nefarious attempt to deprive the English navigators of the honour of discovery on the southern coast of Australia, more especially in the case of Captain Flinders, whose detention at the Mauritius reflected the utmost disgrace both on the emperor and the subordinate agents who were base enough to cooperate with him in his scheme of injustice, falsehood, and tyranny. It is due to the national character to mention, that the earliest opportunity was seized to redress the grievances inflicted upon our countrymen, and to relinquish claims which had no better foundation than the ambitious designs of a military chief. Malte-Brun, a distinguished geographer, published his senti-

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l'historien. Je les ai remplies l'une et l'autre avec le même zèle et le même devouement. Pendant vingt-huit mois de navigation, j'ai fait tout ce qui a dépendu de moi pour protéger nos marchands et honorer le nom Français dans toutes les parties du monde.—J'en presente sans crainte au public le résultat, persuadé que la franchise de l'homme de mer fera excuser l'inexpérience et le peu de talent de l'ecrivain: mon seul but a été d'ouvrir les yeux à mes concitoyens sur l'abaissement du commerce maritime de la France, en même temps que de leur demontrer la necessité d'encourager et d'augmenter notre marine militaire: Je me croirai, si je l'atteins, assez récompensé de mes fatigues et de mes veilles, et je n'aurai plus rien a désirer." Tome iv. p. 146.

ments in a public journal, acknowledging at once the rights of the British, and the dishonourable means employed by certain tools of the imperial government in order to deprive them of the legitimate fruits of their labour. He admits that Napoleon and his minister of nautical affairs formed a plan for usurping the rights belonging to prior discovery along the whole coast, extending not less than two hundred and fifty leagues, though it had nearly all been carefully examined by the captains Grant and Flinders. This theft was meant to be achieved by the following means.

In the first place, the expedition commanded by M. Baudin having, several months after the English had commenced their proceedings, made a cursory survey of the same coast, French names were given to all the capes, gulfs, and islands. The imperial family, the Institute of Paris, and the Board of Admiralty figured in this revised nomenclature, and the whole country was denominated Napoleon's Land. To establish these pretensions, the new epithets were inserted in an atlas, constructed by Freycinet; a work which presented on its frontispiece a view of New Holland, illuminated by a ray darting from the star of Napoleon, and bearing for its motto "Fulget et ipse." In the next place, M. Péron, the author of the historical relation of the voyage performed by Baudin, was ordered to refer to the proceedings of Captain Flinders in a manner so extremely ambiguous as to prevent any one from imagining that the real discoveries were due to him. Permission was indeed given to notice the fact that this navigator was actually met with on the coast, but to assert at the same time that he himself acknowledged his inability, owing to cross winds and currents, to penetrate behind the islands of St Francis; a confession, in other words, that, from the causes now stated, he had not had it in his power to approach within three leagues of the land. Accident favoured this unworthy project so far as to throw Flinders into the hands of the French, who, as already recorded, detained him six years in close con-

finement, in the hope, it was suspected, that he would thereby be deprived of the means of exposing this fraudulent proceeding, or perhaps sink under the weight of disease and disappointment. At all events, falsehood triumphed for a season. The Land of Napoleon, the Peninsula of Cambacérès, the Isles of Décres and Jerome, the Gulf of Bonaparte, and Capes Cuvier, La Place, and many others, appeared to be permanently fixed in the Parisian charts, when Flinders, escaping from the hands of his jailors, made known to Europe the execrable attempt to deprive England of her rights, and himself of the honour which he had earned at the expense of so much exertion. The paltry manœuvres of the imperial cabinet were exposed to the indignation of every civilized people, and above all to that of the French themselves, who wished not that their real glory should be compromised by a usurpation as ridiculous as it was hateful.

Malte-Brun observes that this Bonapartean plagiarism, as he describes it, is distinctly seen in the volumes of Péron, Lesueur, Freycinet, Boullanger, and others; but, he adds, it was not their fault that they were compelled to lend their aid in the perpetration of a dishonesty, which, after the fall of their master, ceased to have any political object. Nay, even when Napoleon was on the throne, this uncompromising geographer announced to his readers part of the truth, which with greater boldness he made known to the world after the entry of the allies into Paris in the year 1814. The public of France and Germany, indignant at the deceit of which they had been made the dupes, did not hesitate a moment in determining for the cause of truth. In the latter country, more especially, new charts of the South Sea were constructed, from which the Terre Napoléon, with all its fanciful dependencies, was forthwith removed.*

* The letter of Malte-Brun was inserted in the Journal de Paris of the 15th December 1814, and copied into the Quarterly Review, vol. xii. p. 267.

CHAPTER V.

Krusenstern, Kotzebue, and Lutké.

Motives of the Russian Court, who send an Ambassador to Japan—Policy of Catherine the Second—Induced by the Vicinity of her Settlements in Kamtschatka to attempt an Intercourse with the Japanese—The same Views inherited by the Emperor Alexander—The Nadeshda and Neva equipped—Krusenstern's Voyage experimental—He arrives at the Marquesas—Character of Natives—Sandwich Islands—Kamtschatka described—Historical Details respecting Japan—Dutch owe their Establishment to William Adams, an Englishman—Base Conduct of the Hollanders—Attempt made by the East India Company—Restrictions laid on the Russians—Fruitless Result of the Embassy—Krusenstern surveys the neighbouring Coasts—Returns to Kamtschatka—Statistical Remarks—Proceeds to Canton—Treatment there—Kotzebue sent on a Voyage of Discovery—Cruises along the Western Coast of America—Enters Behring's Strait—Discovers the Sound which bears his Name—Intercourse with the Inhabitants—Chamisso Island—Singular Iceberg—Remarks on a North-east Passage—Observations on California—Interview with Tamehameha—The Radack Chain of Islands discovered—Reflections on Coral Reefs—Ill Health compels a Return Home—Kotzebue again appointed to pursue Discovery—Account of Brazil—Again visits the Radack Islands—Anchors at New Archangel—Russian Colony there—Missionaries at California—Establishment at Ross—Remarks on Sandwich Islands—Voyage of Bellingshausen—The Expedition under Lutké—He repairs to New Archangel—State of the Aleutian Isles—Islands of Pribyloff and St Matthew—Volcanic Mountains—Proceeds to the Mariannes—Returns to Behring's Strait—Amount of his Discoveries.

The voyages of discovery now about to be described had their origin in the very natural desire, entertained by the court of St Petersburg, to cultivate with the several states on the eastern shores of Asia more inti-

mate relations than the sovereigns of China and Japan had theretofore been disposed to recognise. From the days of the second Catherine, it had appeared to the Russian councillors a matter of the greatest interest to the welfare of her immense dominions that commerce should be extended and navigation improved; it being obvious that, without these means of enlarging their power, they could not hope to attain among the nations of Europe the influence to which they now thought themselves entitled to aspire. Her establishments on Kamtschatka, as well as in the islands which stretch between that province and the continent of America, were too favourably situated not to tempt her to embrace every opportunity for concluding a commercial treaty with the Japanese, whose insular situation almost necessarily compelled them to have recourse to the usages of a maritime people. She was fully aware of the restrictions imposed upon the Dutch, and even of the degradation to which their merchants submitted; but she was willing to believe that the celebrity of her name, and the proximity of her empire, would have a certain share of influence. The retort of the Chinese monarch could not indeed be forgotten, who, when solicited by her ambassador to enter into terms for facilitating a mutual trade, replied that before his mistress bound herself by new treaties, it would become her to fulfil the old ones with greater faith and punctuality. Nor did the success of her negotiations fully repay her for the trouble and condescension to which she submitted; and hence, her grandson inherited nothing besides the wish of sharing the commerce and becoming better acquainted with the policy of those saucy autocrats, whose dominions touched his own along the confines of Tartary.

In the year 1802, soon after the accession of Alexander, the project of an embassy to Japan was renewed under the most favourable auspices, and with a better prospect of success. It was felt that due precautions had not been used on the former occasion, and that there was even a neglect of propriety in the mode of conduct-

ing the wonted ceremonial, which could not be altogether excused. For example, an impression remained that there had been a defect in the show and parade deemed so essential by the rulers of the east; that the person selected for envoy was of a rank too low and manners too coarse to make a suitable impression; and that the letter addressed to the Japanese emperor, instead of being written by Catherine herself, was from the hand of the governor of Siberia; a want of respect to a sovereign prince which could hardly fail to give umbrage. Influenced by such considerations, the czar resolved to combine with a voyage of trade and discovery a diplomatic mission to his oriental neighbour. Two ships, the Nadeshda and Neva, were purchased and equipped for the enterprise, and the former put under the personal command of Captain Krusenstern, who was intrusted with the nautical part of the expedition. Being allowed to nominate a colleague, he selected for the charge of the smaller vessel Captain Lisianskoy, who, as well as himself, had served in the British navy. M. de Resanoff was appointed ambassador extraordinary, invested with the order of St Ann, and made a privy councillor. Several other persons of rank were attached to the embassy, besides physicians, astronomers, naturalists, and draftsmen. Some military officers were likewise permitted to render their services, including two sons of Von Kotzebue: and, to complete the list, there were five Japanese who, a few years before, had been taken prisoners in the Aleutian Isles. It was arranged that the Nadeshda should carry the embassy to Nangasaki, while the Neva, separating at the Sandwich Islands, should proceed to the settlement of Kodiack, on the northwestern coast of America, whence she was to proceed with a cargo of furs to Canton, and ultimately find her way alone to a port in the Baltic.

The enterprise conducted by Krusenstern, though more properly a voyage of experiment than of discovery, is nevertheless on several accounts exceedingly important and interesting. It is of no small conse-

quence to have ascertained in what manner the representative of a great western sovereign was received in a country which, during one hundred and fifty years, had seen no European people except a few pliant Dutchmen, whose sole object was commercial gain. It was not only the first time that the Russian flag was destined to be carried round the world, but the first time that a Russian ship was to make its appearance in the southern hemisphere. The vessels too, though built in England, were fitted out and manned in the dominions of the czar. It is true that the commodore, availing himself of his experience on board British men-of-war, had adopted all the measures used in the latter for the comfort of the crews and the preservation of their health. He was also supplied with six of the best chronometers that London could afford, as well as a very valuable apparatus of sextants, theodolites, and other instruments for astronomical, nautical, and philosophical purposes.

When the two ships arrived at Cronstadt, the officers and men were gratified by a visit from his imperial majesty, who, to fulfil his duties as the head of the nation, assigned an annual pension of fifteen hundred roubles, for twelve years, to the wife of Krusenstern, in order that his mind might be at ease during his absence with regard to the welfare of his family; a gift not less considerate on the part of Alexander than gratifying to the feelings of the excellent officer, whose services he thus rewarded by anticipation.

The expedition was planned in 1802 as already stated, but so much time was required for preparation, that the ships did not leave Falmouth, where an additional supply of beef was procured, till the 5th October in the following year. At eight o'clock, the lighthouse on the Lizard was distant about twelve miles; at nine, they lost sight of it, the wind blowing fresh, though with little impression on the vessels. The night was as fine as it could possibly be, clear, and not a cloud to be seen; a circumstance which appeared to every one a good omen for the success of their long voyage. At this moment

the captain gave way to reflections much more personal than either modest or profound. He imagined that the eyes of all the civilized part of Europe were fixed upon him; and, remembering that the success or failure of the undertaking would decide his reputation, he felt that any shadow cast upon his name would extend in some degree to his native country. Those who delight in vilifying Russia would, he dreaded, triumph over an unfortunate event; and the first attempt, if unsuccessful, might for a long time preclude any similar effort. He consoled himself, meanwhile, by reflecting that, in accepting the important task committed to him by his sovereign, he had done his duty, more especially as it was every where believed that if he had declined, the intention of carrying the flag of the czar to the remote parts of the earth must have been relinquished. Russia, he appears to have been convinced, could not have supplied another officer of sufficient experience, knowledge, and address; and therefore all family ties were to be torn asunder, and all schemes of private happiness abandoned, in order that the objects contemplated by the cabinet of St Petersburg might enjoy the chance of reaching a prosperous consummation.*

The importance of the countries which the Nadeshda was now about to visit had long before presented itself to the penetrating mind of Peter the Great; and accordingly, in the year 1716, he directed that a vessel should sail from Ochotsk to Kamtschatka, with the view of establishing a communication between this peninsula and the mainland, and of thereby avoiding the tedious journey along shore. By his orders the Kurile Isles were likewise examined in the year 1720; and a short time before his death, in 1725, he issued instructions for the equipment of the expedition to the command of which

* Voyage round the World in the Years 1803, 1804, 1805, and 1806, by Order of his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, on board the Ships Nadeshda and Neva, under the Command of Captain A. J. Von Krusenstern of the Imperial Navy. 2 vols 4to, London, 1813, vol. i. p. 33.

the celebrated Behring was appointed. The question relative to the strait which divides Asia from America had attracted his attention during his residence in Holland; and his best efforts towards the solution of it had even been solicited by the Academy of Sciences at Paris. But it was not till the year 1741, when the Empress Anna occupied the imperial throne, that the labours of the Russian marine were crowned with the success to which their perseverance in the cause of discovery so justly entitled them. Behring and Tschirikoff at length saw the opposite continent in a high latitude, and marked with some degree of accuracy the limits of the inlet which continues to bear the name of the former. Several attempts were subsequently made with various degrees of success, both by natives and foreigners, among which may be included the voyage of M. Billings in 1785. No material discovery, however, was achieved by any of these adventurers, who simply examined parts of the coast already brought to light, or detected the existence of small islands which had not been grouped by any previous navigator.

The knowledge of the north-western shores of America communicated by Behring laid the foundation of the trade in furs, and subsequently of the Russian Company, who have since pursued that traffic with considerable vigour. Their chief establishment was at Irkutsk, a town which by its situation facilitates the intercourse between the eastern parts of the empire and the seat of government; but, in consequence of certain irregularities committed by their agents, especially their cruel conduct to the natives in the districts where the game was found, his Imperial Majesty deemed it expedient to look more closely into their concerns, and, with this view, compelled them to remove the centre of their business to St Petersburg. On this subject Krusenstern furnishes his readers with numerous details; having devoted to it his utmost attention, in the prospect of sharing in the perils and advantages of the commerce with the Chinese, the principal purchasers of the skins pro-

cured on the American coast. Indeed, the main object for which the Neva was fitted out, under the eyes of Alexander, had a reference, as has been stated, to the extension and security of the same trade, to which the Russians continue to attach an undue importance.

As the Nadeshda and her colleague followed the usual route by the coast of Brazil and round Cape Horn, the reader could have no interest in following them along a track so familiar and commonplace. Fine weather and a clear horizon enabled the captain to take very accurate observations in passing Cape St John, the eastern point of Staten Land, and to verify its longitude, which, as he observes, had already been determined by the celebrated Cook with as much precision as most of the cities of Europe, although but a barren rock at the extremity of one of the rudest and most inhospitable islands on the globe. Nothing, indeed, is so surprising in the feats of the great English navigator as the accuracy of his observations. Even the most improved instruments which the advanced state of the arts has placed in the hands of modern seamen have not enabled them to ascertain with greater exactness the position of the various lands, capes, and promontories, which mark the progress of the mariner in the great ocean on either side of the equator.

Early in May Krusenstern anchored in the bay called Anna Maria, in the island of Noukahiva, one of the Marquesas, where he was joined by the Neva, which had separated from him during a gale of wind, soon after passing Tierra del Fuego. The Russian captain sanctions, so far as his authority can be supposed to extend, the absurdity of attaching to that group the name of Washington; a usurpation equally unpardonable and inconvenient. The cluster in question, every one knows, was first discovered by Mendana in 1595, by whom, in honour of the Marquis Mendoza, then governor of Peru, they were denominated the Marquesas. The same islands were visited by Cook in 1774; were seen, but not surveyed, in 1791 by Ingraham, the master of an American trader; and by Marchand, a French officer,

also in 1791. They were examined, in 1792, by Lieutenant Hergest of the Dædalus transport, who was afterwards murdered at Woahoo; and observed in 1797 by Captain Wilson, who carried out the missionaries to the South Sea. It is no doubt possible to separate, at least in imagination, the few isles which Ingraham's discovery has assigned to the memory of the great President, from the body of the group which Mendana first made known to Europeans; but it is admitted that the former are so contiguous to the latter as to be visible the one from the other; while the distance between the nearest of the two clusters is less than that between many of the islands in each respectively. It is therefore difficult to perceive the propriety with which one portion of a group should be distinguished by a name different from that which is applied to the whole body.

But notwithstanding these considerations the Russian commodore maintains that the honour of the discovery belongs to the Americans, and consequently justifies their appropriation of the islands in connexion with the fame of their liberator. He admits that it is a great advantage to geography to reduce as much as possible the number of names upon charts, and to bring as many islands as may be under one appellation; but should not, he adds, "an exception be made in favour of that of Washington, which must prove an ornament to any chart! Is it not according to the strictest justice that the first discovery of the Americans should be preserved in the annals of naval history by a designation peculiar to themselves: and is it allowed to strike out of the charts the immortal name of the founder and protector of a great state, by which one of its grateful citizens had dedicated a new group of islands to it, merely to unite this group with another which had been discovered and named two hundred years before?" To this question a suitable reply has been made, though indirectly, and after the interrogative manner: by what right did this citizen change a name which had been conferred two hundred years ago, to gratify the inordinate vanity of himself

and his countrymen at the expense of introducing confusion and perplexity?*

When approaching the Bay of Anna Maria, Krusenstern perceived a canoe coming off with eight persons in it, one of whom carried a white flag. He proved to be an Englishman named Roberts, to whom allusion has already been made, who had lived nine years in the country, where he asserted he had been put ashore by the crew of a merchant ship because he refused to join in a mutiny. Having married into the royal family of Noukahiva, he thought it proper to dress in all respects like the natives, wearing nothing more than a girdle about his loins. After a brief interval he informed the Russians that a Frenchman had likewise lived some years on the island: adding that he was a dangerous individual; had several times attempted his life; and must, on all accounts, be carefully guarded against. The captain saw nothing more in this information as given by Roberts than a proof of that "inborn hatred which exists between the French and English; who, not contented with disturbing the peace of the civilized world, must needs carry their enmities among tribes at the remotest corners of the earth."

But in one sentiment the two foreigners united; they both represented the character of the natives as being exceedingly bad, though their plausible manners had deceived the captain of the Nadeshda, who declared that, had his eyes not been opened by the intelligence thus supplied, he would have left their country under the most favourable impression of their moral propensities. In their intercourse with his people, he relates, they always showed the best possible disposition, and in bartering, an extraordinary degree of honesty; always delivering their cocoa-nuts before they received the piece of iron that was to be paid for them. At all times they appeared ready to assist in cutting

* Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 138. Quarterly Review, vol. vi. p. 367.

food and filling water; and the help they afforded in the performance of these laborious tasks was by no means trifling. Theft, a crime notoriously common to all the islanders of the Pacific, he very seldom witnessed among them; they always appeared cheerful and happy, and the greatest good humour was depicted in their countenances. In a word, during the ten days he spent there, he was not obliged to fire a single loaded musket. Their peaceable behaviour, he admits, might be attributed to their fear of firearms; but "what right have we to ascribe to any bad motive that conduct which demanded our approbation, or to expect such motives among a nation hitherto but little acquainted with Europeans, and therefore, according to the doctrines of some philosophers, still perfectly untainted?"

Nevertheless, he was at length compelled by irresistible evidence to acknowledge that they are a cruel, intractable people, and, without even the exception of the female sex, very much addicted to cannibalism; that the appearance of good humour and contentment with which they had deceived him, was not their true character; and that nothing but the fear of punishment and the hope of reward deterred them from giving way to their savage passions. He could no longer doubt the barbarous scenes which were said to be acted, especially in the time of war; the desperate rage with which they fell upon their victims, tearing off their heads, and sipping their blood out of the skull with the most disgusting greediness. Their weapons are invariably adorned with human hair, and human bones are used as ornaments in almost all their household furniture; a circumstance which taken by itself would justify the worst suspicions in regard to their habits when pressed for food or stimulated by the feeling of revenge. Nay, it was asserted by Roberts, and not denied by the other foreigner, that, in seasons of famine, the men butcher their wives and children, and after baking or stewing their flesh, devour it with

the utmost avidity. "Even the tender looking female, whose eyes beam nothing but beauty, will join, if permitted, in this horrid repast."*

But it appears that the Noukahivans are not less treacherous than cruel. Some years prior to the time of Krusenstern's visit, an American vessel had put into the port of Anna Maria, and the captain, who was a quaker, suffered his people to go on shore unarmed. No sooner did the natives observe their defenceless condition than they assembled, in order to attack and drag them into the mountains; nor would they have failed to succeed in their horrible intentions, had not the Englishman, by representing to the king the fatal consequences of such treachery to the interests of his dominions, induced him so far to interpose as to rescue the strangers from the hands of the cannibals who obviously intended to murder them. An incident occurred, too, which left no doubt on the mind of Krusenstern himself, that the kindness he uniformly bestowed upon them, so far from producing in their minds an overflow of benevolence and gratitude, had not in any degree abated their appetite for plunder and bloodshed. A report had spread among them that one of the ships, in leaving the harbour, was run aground; and in less than two hours a great number of the islanders were assembled on the beach, armed with clubs, axes, and spears. Their purpose, it was nowhere doubted, was to murder the crew and seize all the property on board; a suspicion which was confirmed by the Frenchman, who hastened to apprize the Russians of the fate prepared for them, adding that the whole valley was in an uproar, and breathing the most hostile feelings. Such demonstrations led the visiters to the conclusion that no trace of good qualities was to be found among them, and that they undoubtedly belonged to the very worst of mankind.

* "All the skulls which we purchased of them had a hole perforated through one end of them for the purpose of drinking blood." —Vol i. p. 180.

The character of the Marquesans has recently acquired a greater interest than it formerly possessed in the eyes of Europeans, owing to the occupation of the principal island by a colony of French, under the auspices and protection of the Parisian government. The countrymen of La Perouse have not hitherto been fortunate in their schemes of colonization; and the field chosen in this instance does not assuredly hold out the hope of much prosperity, whether mercantile or territorial. They have already had some experience of the fierce and vindictive natures whom they have undertaken to rule. Force is the only law to which the natives of the Mendoza group will submit; and to the military skill of their conquerors they will oppose the usual weapons of savage life, guile, stratagem, and the furious outbreaks of uncontrollable revenge. Hence, it is manifest that the perpetuity of French rule must be founded on the extinction of the tribes who gained the good opinion of Cook, and were honoured with the enthusiastic eulogies of Forster. But they will not yield without a struggle, nor die without avenging the cause which must perish with them. Their usual mode of warfare is to watch constantly for their enemy, whom they butcher in secret; and he is the greatest hero amongst them who shows the most skill in these arts, who can lie longest on his belly with the least motion, who can breathe the most softly, run the most swiftly, and spring with the greatest agility from rock to rock.

Being disappointed in procuring a supply of provisions at Noukahiva, the inhabitants of which could not part with more than a few hogs, he resolved to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, instead of steering a direct course for Kamtschatka. But Owhyhee did not in this respect answer his expectations; and the scarcity of food seemed the more surprising as the coast appeared extremely well cultivated. The whole shore was covered with cocoa-trees; while the number of houses, plantations, and canoes, seemed to indicate a great population. At the east end the land rises gradually from the sea to

the foot of the mountain Mowna Roa, which, according to a measurement made on board, was pronounced to be nearly two thousand feet higher than the Peak of Teneriffe. It was accurately described by the early Spanish navigators, who really were the first discoverers of the Sandwich Islands, as a table; for the summit, when quite free from snow, forms a perfect flat, saving an almost imperceptible height on the eastern side.

In the eyes of the Russians, the inhabitants could not bear a comparison with those of Noukahiva, being shorter, less elegantly formed, and much darker in colour. But, though inferior in a physical point of view, the natives of Owhyhee, in respect of mental power and acquirements, had a decided advantage. A constant intercourse with Europeans, especially with Englishmen, of whom there were several in the island, must have contributed not a little to this effect, and may perhaps account for the activity, the quick eye, and cheerful manner by which most of them are distinguished. The construction of their canoes, too, manifests an acquaintance with the arts still unknown in the Marquesas, and they manage them with a degree of skill of which the fishermen of the latter group, to whom the sea does not appear a natural element, have no conception. A great change had taken place in the commercial notions of the people during the previous ten or twelve years. In 1789, Tianna, the chief of Atooi, whom Meares carried with him to China, never inquired, during his stay at Canton, the price of any wares, otherwise than by asking, "how much iron do you give for this?" In 1803, the natives of Owhyhee seemed almost to despise that metal, scarcely deigning to look even upon the most useful tools or ingenious instruments. Nothing would satisfy them that did not minister to their vanity, more especially a piece of showy dress or a gaudy ornament.

About the middle of July, the Nadeshda turned her head towards the east, with the view of making the coast of Kamtschatka, where the captain hoped to be more successful in obtaining supplies. Count Romanzoff, he

relates, had given him particular instructions, before his departure from Russia, to look out for an island, the existence of which was known to have occupied the attention of the Dutch and Spaniards, though resting upon very ancient, perhaps fabulous, reports. The latter people, who had heard that an isle, very rich in gold and silver, had been discovered in a meridian to the eastward of Japan, sent a ship from Acapulco in 1610, with orders to take possession of it. The Hollanders, who were equally allured by the supposed wealth of that distant spot, despatched two vessels thither, under the command of Matthias Kwast, with instructions equivalent to those issued by the authorities of Madrid. In both cases the failure was equally great; no trace being ever found of the island, the immense riches of which were expected to reward all their exertions. In 1787, La Perouse renewed the attempt, and with a similar result. He was, indeed, the only navigator, in modern times, who resumed this pursuit of the seventeenth century; Cook, Clerke, Dixon, Vancouver, and all others who had engaged in discovery between the shores of Asia and America, having studiously neglected it. After these remarks, it must be superfluous to mention, that Krusenstern did not add to the fame of his voyage by throwing any new light on this oriental Peru, whence the Russian minister anticipated a vast accession to the imperial treasury.

The stay at the harbour of St Peter and St Paul was not attended with any remarkable incident. The weather was constantly thick and rainy, with winds blowing from every point of the compass; a condition of the atmosphere which could not contribute to the promotion of health among the crew. Accordingly, as soon as he had obtained some live-stock and a moderate allowance of vegetables, including several large barrels of wild garlic, the captain set sail for Japan, whither the ambassador now became impatient to be conveyed. In the course of this run, diversified only by various kinds of bad weather, he once more employed himself in searching

for islands, embodied in certain charts, which he had again the best reason for believing had no other existence than that assigned to them by ignorant cosmographers. Referring to the visits of our countrymen in those seas, he remarks, that "it might almost be believed that the English government had purposely cast a veil over the voyages of Colnett and Broughton on the coast of Japan, were it not that the liberality which they have shown in publishing every voyage that has been undertaken during the last half century, a period so brilliant in the history of discovery, completely controverts this suspicion." He laments particularly that the account of the second of these enterprises, which was entirely one of discovery, had not appeared, because the companion of Vancouver could not fail to have rendered his work very interesting to geography and navigation; and it was not to be supposed that, with the loss of his ship, his journals and charts were all destroyed.

The strictures now quoted were afterwards discovered by the captain of the Nadeshda to be quite groundless, for the journals to which he alludes were really published during his absence, though containing very little which could be pronounced important either to the sailor or the statesman. Colnett did not print his papers, because, it may be presumed, he had nothing new or interesting to communicate. All he says in regard to the islands northward of Fatsisio, which he had accidentally observed in some old charts, is, that he had reason to doubt their existence; but, as it continued thick weather, it was his business, he imagined, "to avoid rather than to seek for their situation." It is indeed well known that the Dutch and Spaniards were in the practice of laying down in their maps islands, rocks, and shoals on very slender evidence, and sometimes on mere conjecture; and with respect to the latter people it may be added that, even when they proceeded on the basis of fact, they made such egregious mistakes in calculating longitude as to bewilder all their successors in both divisions of the

Pacific. Of this species of inaccuracy the position of the Sandwich group is a remarkable instance; it being notorious that the most renowned of their navigators placed these islands several hundred miles too much towards the east.

Passing over certain nautical details which can have no interest except in the eyes of professional men, we proceed to a brief historical outline of Japan, so far as that singular country is known to Europeans. The Dutch, it is alleged, know more than they have deemed it expedient to communicate; a reserve, says Krusenstern, "at variance with the true spirit of a philosophical age, and quite unworthy of a republican government." It is to Marco Polo we are indebted for the earliest knowledge of the Japanese empire. The Zipangu mentioned in his extraordinary travels was so entirely new, that the account he gives of it was considered as altogether fabulous; but its existence could not be long doubted nor its position mistaken, the name, Jepun-quo, being in reality its Chinese appellation, signifying the "kingdom of the rising sun." It was not visited by Europeans, however, till the year 1542, when Fernando Mendez Pinto, a native of Portugal, having, with two of his countrymen, embarked in a foreign vessel on a voyage to the Loo Choo Islands, was driven by a storm on the coast of Japan. Here they were all treated with great humanity, and permitted to trade; and Pinto, whose condition had been made known at the court of the King of Bungo, was invited by his majesty to repair thither. Information in regard to other countries was no doubt the object which this petty sovereign had in view; but he derived from the visit of the stranger a benefit which he did not expect, a speedy relief from a severe fit of gout, accomplished by means of a drug used among the Chinese.

This favourable reception induced Xavier and a number of Portuguese Jesuits to proceed to Japan from Goa and other of their establishments in India; and

these men, who had the talent of accommodating the christian religion to the principles as well as the practices of those whom they undertook to convert, succeeded in their benevolent efforts beyond all expectation. They baptized kings, viceroys, and magistrates; and in the great cities of Miaco and Jeddo they induced thousands to enlist under the banner of the cross. There was a similarity in the functions of the spiritual head in the former to those of the Pope at Rome; a resemblance between the holy Mother in the east and the Virgin Mary in the west; the priests in both religions were subjected to the rules of celibacy; images were used by both, as well as the burning of incense and the tinkling of bells; even the tonsure practised by the Roman Catholics had been anticipated by the bonzes of Jeddo; and hence the main difficulties were removed to an apparent agreement in belief not less than in the usages of piety.

It is remarkable that the Dutch owed their first knowledge of Japan to an accident, and their establishment in the country to the services of an Englishman. Four ships were fitted out in the Texel in the year 1598, for a voyage round Cape Horn to the East Indies, three of which were wrecked upon the coast of America, and the fourth, of which the pilot was William Adams, found its way to the Japanese shores. Here the crew had the misfortune to meet with some Portuguese Jesuits, who endeavoured to persuade the natives to hang them as pirates; a catastrophe which was prevented by the interposition of the emperor. Having heard of the arrival of the foreigners, he had the curiosity to send for Adams, who, being an ingenious man, soon ingratiated himself with the monarch, explained to him the different kingdoms of the world, delineated charts, instructed him in the principles of geometry, and at length built a few small vessels. In short, his imperial highness contracted so great a liking to the pilot that he could not be prevailed upon to grant him permission to leave his dominions. His

generosity and gratitude, however, so far manifested themselves in favour of his teacher that, for his sake, he allowed the Dutchmen to proceed to Batavia, and to return thence for the purposes of trade. The Spaniards and Portuguese meanwhile endeavoured to excite suspicion against them, and to throw numerous obstacles in their way; but the influence of Adams had already become so powerful that every difficulty was removed, and a license granted to them for establishing a factory on the island of Firando.

The latter event now mentioned took place in 1611; but two years previously the governor of the Philippines was on his passage to New Spain wrecked on the coast of Japan, whence he was forwarded to Acapulco in one of the ships constructed by the English seaman. In acknowledgment of this kindness to their people in such circumstances, the Spanish government sent an embassy to the emperor, who, already in some degree accustomed to intercourse with Europeans, received them graciously, and also gave them permission to engage in commerce at the principal port. It was in defence of this privilege, then valued very highly, that the subjects of Philip endeavoured to prevent any encroachment on the part of the Hollanders, whom they disliked not less for political reasons than for the active rivalry which they had begun to manifest as navigators and merchants. Nor did the generosity displayed by these last entitle them to any confidence or respect on the part of other trading nations: on the contrary, their sentiments were far from being liberal towards their competitors, and little calculated to exalt the reputation of western nations in the eyes of the orientals, who are known to be equally suspicious and proud.

It is believed that many letters were written by Adams to his friends in England, which were intercepted by the Dutch; actuated, there can be no doubt, by the contemptible jealousy of which they as well as the Spaniards and Portuguese had already given so many

proofs. One of his epistles fortunately fell into the hands of his countrymen at Bantam, who in consequence of it despatched in the year 1613 the Clove, commanded by Sir John Saris, with the view of establishing a commercial intercourse with Japan. On his arrival at Firando he was well received, and Adams shortly made his appearance to conduct him to court, where a license was without difficulty obtained for the East India Company's ships to repair to any of the ports of Japan, and to buy, sell, and barter free from all duties. Permission was even given to establish a factory, and to engage in commerce with all classes of the people without restriction or impediment. Such signal favours could not fail to bring upon our countrymen the hatred of the Dutch, who, being greatly superior in point of numbers, proceeded to open violence and even personal outrage against them. Notwithstanding this ungenerous treatment from their rivals, the English resolutely maintained their ground, and would probably, through the good offices of the pilot, have ultimately prevailed. But they soon found it expedient to relinquish the attempt to form a permanent establishment; and warned, perhaps, by friends who were aware of the approaching convulsion, they resolved to withdraw in a body from the dominions of the emperor, whose power, it is probable, would have proved unequal to secure their protection. A violent persecution of the Christians almost immediately ensued, which, after an ineffectual resistance, ended in the total extirpation of the gospel in every province of Japan.

This melancholy reaction on the part of a people who at first manifested no opposition to the truths of Christianity, was ascribed by the Dutch to the imprudent conduct of the Portuguese missionaries, whose success so inflated their minds that they forgot the moderation and humility which had gained for them the esteem of the natives. They became, say their antagonists, proud, insolent, and dissolute; continually intriguing at court,

meddling in state affairs, and making the guidance of consciences much less their care than the direction of councils. On the other hand, the Portuguese complained of the treacherous conduct of their rivals, who not only propagated all manner of slanders to their discredit, but fabricated accounts of plots, the supposed object of which was to dethrone the emperor and subvert the government; adding that they were base enough, after the persecution had begun, to abjure their religion, and to submit to the abominable test established by the Japanese, which required them to trample on the cross as well as on the image of the Virgin. Thunberg, a creditable historian, denies that in his time they were ever called upon to perform this disgraceful ceremony, though he admits that it is observed two or three days every year at Nangasaki, by the inhabitants themselves, in order to impress on the minds of the rising generation an abhorrence of the christian faith, and a detestation of the missionaries, by whom it was introduced into their country.

The subjects of Portugal, lay as well as clerical, were expelled from Japan in the year 1639; and no farther attempts to recover their ground were made by the English till 1673, when the East India Company sent one ship to Nangasaki, the captain of which bore a letter from his Britannic Majesty to the emperor. The governor having gone on board with some Dutch interpreters, put a number of questions, including one obviously suggested by his attendants, namely, what sort of Christians the English were, and more especially, whether King Charles was not married to a Portuguese princess. The result of this examination was an order that the strangers should in the mean time confine themselves to their vessel; and, after the interval of a month, the imperial determination was communicated on board with due solemnity, to the effect that he could not permit any intercourse with his dominions to a people whose sovereign had married a daughter of the catholic king.

In this manner ended all communication with the Ja

panese on the part of the British till 1803, the year that Krusenstern appeared on their coast, when a ship was sent from Calcutta on a mercantile speculation. She was refused admittance, and the captain peremptorily ordered to leave the country in the course of twenty-four hours. Colnett, indeed, in 1791, had skirted the western shores with the view of entering some of the harbours, for the purpose of opening a trade with the natives; but he was every where repulsed by the guard-boats, which completely blocked up all access, and manifested a fixed resolution to oppose his nearer approach. To prove that their sentiments were not positively hostile or unkind, they readily supplied him with wood and water, which they carried on board free of expense. They would accept no return; they would admit no intercourse; indicating by words and signs of the least ambiguous nature that Europeans could not be allowed even to seek shelter in their havens. To all his entreaties they shut their eyes and their ears, by which he readily understood that "their orders were to be deaf and blind to all I should urge."

Early in the present century, Captain Pellew, in the Phæton frigate, entered the harbour of Nangasaki under Dutch colours. A boat, containing an officer and two natives of Holland, put off to meet the English barge, which was steering towards the shore; and, upon their coming in contact, the Japanese made some show of opposition, when the English drew their cutlasses, and the others, the Dutchmen excepted, leaped overboard. But notwithstanding this inauspicious meeting, the natives, the following morning, sent on board an ample supply of goats, vegetables, wood, and water, for which they refused to take any payment. All they required was that the ship should instantly depart and leave the inhabitants unmolested; their government permitting no discretionary power as to intercourse with foreigners, unless, it should seem, they were protected by the flag of the King of Holland.

From this historical outline of the connexion, re-

ligious and commercial, between the people of Europe and those of Japan, it appears that the exclusion of foreigners formed no part of their original constitution. There is, on the contrary, the best ground for inferring, that all the precautionary and exclusive measures adopted by their rulers in later times were suggested by the conduct of those strangers who gained an early admittance into their country; and more especially that they arose from the jealousy raised against the Portuguese Jesuits by the Dutch traders, who, it has been said, for the sake of a pitiful monopoly, have consented to sacrifice their religion, their liberty, and every honourable feeling and manly principle.

Returning to the voyage of Krusenstern, it may be remarked that he was fully aware of all the insulting restrictions now mentioned; yet as he had an ambassador of high rank on board, charged with despatches, and bearing presents and assurances of friendship from the sovereign of a powerful empire, he was willing to persuade himself that he would be received with civility, and probably with more distinction than it is thought necessary to show to simple traders. At all events, he had not any doubt as to his being allowed to proceed to Jeddo, a journey which would enable him to communicate some more authentic information than had yet been afforded respecting the extraordinary people who inhabit it. But all his expectations were doomed to encounter the most mortifying disappointment. The ambassador, his suite, the captain, officers, and crew, were kept close prisoners on board the Nadeshda two whole months, and shut up during double that period in the corner of a small island projecting into the bay of Nangasaki. It is not, therefore, without reason that the Russian navigator remarks in his peculiarly simple manner, "the reader must not expect any satisfactory account of Japan from me, although we remained above six months." Immediately after he had come to anchor, the authorities on shore took possession of all the powder and firearms, including the fowling-pieces of the officers; strictly forbidding

any of them to land, or even to row about the harbour within a short distance of the ship. Nor would a violation of this injunction have been found easily practicable, for she was surrounded by a circle of thirty-two guard-boats through which no one was allowed to pass. When two Dutch vessels about to depart were preparing to salute, a message was sent to Krusenstern not to return it, as the honour was not in any degree meant for the Russians but exclusively for the emperor.

After a negotiation of six weeks, permission was granted to take an occasional walk on the beach opposite to their frigate. The space set apart for this purpose was a hundred yards long by forty in breadth, shut in towards the land by a high fence of bamboos, and guarded at each end by a watch-house. All intercourse with the Dutch was interdicted in the most positive manner; and when the two merchantmen sailed for Batavia, no letters were allowed to be sent, with the single exception of one from the ambassador to the czar his master, and even in this he was desired to confine his communications strictly to the occurrences of the voyage. This official note was first translated into the language of Holland; a copy of it was then made with such accuracy, that every line ended with the same letter as the autograph; this was deposited with the governor, and the original, after being sealed in his presence, was carried on board by two of his secretaries.

It seems to be a rule, carefully observed by the Japanese, never to omit an opportunity of insulting a European, and of showing how little he is esteemed in the eyes even of the lowest agent who serves their emperor. Krusenstern mentions that, soon after his arrival at Nangasaki, he received a visit from several magistrates, or banjos, who, without attending to the pleasure or convenience of their host, walked at once into his cabin and seated themselves on the carpet. Their servants placed a lanthorn at the feet of each individual, with a little box containing their smoking

apparatus, and a vessel with coals to light their pipes. The Opperhoofd or director of the Dutch factory was also brought along with them; but it was upwards of an hour before he was permitted to join their society in the ship. He had scarcely entered the cabin with his suite, consisting of his secretary, the two captains, and Baron Pabst, when they were all obliged to remain several minutes in an inclined posture, which they were called upon to assume by a most insolent order from the interpreter. Nor was this submissive and degrading attention on their part answered even by a nod. The compliments, as they are called, of the Dutch approach very nearly to the reverence practised by the natives towards their superiors, which consist in throwing the body flat on the ground, touching the earth with the head, and wriggling backwards and forwards as they happen to be addressed. The Russian commander remarks, that the gentlemen of the factory would have found great difficulty in throwing themselves on the floor, owing to their clothes and the want of pliability in their bodies; but, in order to come as near as possible to the native prostrations, they were compelled to bend their persons till they attained the figure of a right angle, and continue in this position with their arms extended several minutes; after which, upon a signal given, they were allowed to resume their natural posture. In concluding his narrative, he not unnaturally observes, that it is impossible to find words capable of expressing how shameful and barbarous such conduct appears; and how much it is to be regretted that an enlightened European nation, owing its political existence to the love of freedom, and which has acquired celebrity by great actions, should so far debase itself from a desire of gain, as to attend with submission and devotion to the hateful injunctions of a set of slaves. It is shocking beyond description to see brave men for several minutes in the most abject position before a banjos, who frequently belongs to the lowest of the

people, and who does not return, even in the slightest manner, the mark of respect which is paid to him.*

No such freedoms were attempted with the Russians, whose feelings as well as political views would have led them to resist the pitiful degradation to which the subjects of William of Nassau found it convenient to submit. It is stated above that the powder and firearms generally were removed from the Nadeshda, and even the fowling-pieces belonging to the officers; but the latter were permitted to retain their swords, and the soldiers their muskets and bayonets. Again, when at length the ambassador was allowed to land, his guard went ashore with him, armed in the usual manner. This favour, indeed, was not granted to him without obvious reluctance, and the interpreters endeavoured during several days to prevail on him to forego this privilege of his official rank; representing that it was not only against the laws of the country, and that such a case had never before occurred, but that it would shock the people to see soldiers of another nation displaying their military weapons, as if in contempt or defiance of the imperial authority. The matter in fact assumed such a degree of importance in the estimation of the governor, that a whole month was spent in negotiating before M. Resanoff could obtain leave to set his foot on the land, in the character of minister from the court of St Petersburg. It was believed that a courier was sent to Jeddo or Miaco to receive instructions for the guidance of the local ruler.

When it was finally resolved that the ambassador should debark, the Prince of Fisen sent his own boat for this purpose, a vessel exceeding in size and magnificence every thing of the kind that Krusenstern had yet seen. It was a hundred and twenty feet long; the walls and ceilings of the numerous cabins were varnished in the handsomest manner; and the stairs,

* Krusenstern's Voyage round the World, English Translation, vol. i. p. 257-262.

formed of red wood, were polished so highly as to have the appearance of lacker. The decks were covered with mats and the most costly carpets; the curtains were of the richest tissue; and the whole barge was hung with double rows of silk of different colours. As M. Resanoff stepped on board, the Russian standard was hoisted and waved together with the flag of the prince. The imperial fortresses were ornamented with new ensigns and other warlike decorations, and manned by the Japanese troops in their best uniform. An innumerable fleet of boats, surrounding the vessel, accompanied the ambassador to the city; and so far the ceremony was worthy of the representative of a great monarch. But no sooner had he entered the dwelling prepared for him than the doors were locked on both sides, and, at sunset, the keys were sent to the governor.

The residence here mentioned was a considerable building, and seems to have borne the name of Megasaki; but, says Captain Krusenstern, "the seven towers of Constantinople are hardly so well guarded." The house was situated upon a neck of land so near the sea, that on the south and east sides the water at high tide came close under the windows. A tall bamboo fence surrounded the whole edifice, not only towards the land but even in the face of the waves. A large gate with double locks formed the entrance from the water-side. An officer, whose station was near the ship, had the keys of the outer ones, and another, who lived near the house, had those of the inside. Twelve officers and their men relieved each other daily in this duty; and at short intervals on the way to the town were gates, which, in a similar manner, were constantly locked and guarded, the soldiers never quitting them for a moment. They always counted the number of persons who came ashore, and the boat was never allowed to return without carrying forth precisely the same number. If any officer of the ship wished to pass the night in Megasaki, one of the inmates was obliged to go back in his stead; and, in like manner, when any one belonging to the ambas-

ador's suite was desirous of sleeping on board, some sailor was selected to fill his place ashore. The appointed number of individuals residing there was neither to be increased nor diminished; but in this respect no regard was paid to office or quality, all classes being placed on the same footing.

Much trifling diplomacy was employed to amuse and deceive M. Resanoff, who still hoped to be permitted to proceed to Jeddo, and to have the honour of a personal audience. On the 12th March, he was made acquainted with the determination of the court that he should not be received at the imperial residence, but that a plenipotentiary would be sent to Nangasaki, to accept the presents sent to his master by the czar, as also to discuss the several points which were understood to be the subject of negotiation between the two monarchs. It was intimated, at the same time, that the Russians would not be allowed to purchase the smallest article in Japan; it being the pleasure of the emperor to supply the ship with every thing which should be deemed necessary, including eight weeks' provisions, free from all charge or trouble.

At the end of the month just named, the Japanese envoy arrived and entered upon the preliminary discussions as to the time and manner in which the two imperial representatives should meet. The negotiations on this head were conducted with considerable warmth on both sides, and it was not till the third of April that the ceremonies of the first audience were adjusted. In substance it was mutually conceded that each was to observe the forms of his own country, and that M. Resanoff should pay his respects to the plenipotentiary, according to the European fashion, and not after the manner of the natives, nor even the modified style adopted by the Dutch. He consented, indeed, to appear without his sword or shoes; but perhaps he was not prepared for the indignity of being refused a chair, or any other seat fitted to our mode of reclining.

He found himself under the necessity of sitting in front of the governor and envoy on the floor, with his feet bent under him; an attitude which was to him at once painful and inconvenient. In returning to his residence he was allowed the use of a sedan chair, the officers who attended him being obliged to proceed on foot.

Two audiences followed, which terminated the intercourse between these negotiators, one of whom seemed not to have any thing to ask, while the other had obviously received instructions to yield nothing and make no grant. A few insignificant questions led to as many unmeaning replies. The plenipotentiary, at the second meeting, put into the hands of the stranger the documents with which he had been intrusted at Jeddo; containing, among other things, an order that no Russian ship should ever come again to Japan, and a notice that the presents and even the letter from the emperor were peremptorily refused. It was requested that should any Japanese thereafter be cast upon the shores of the European monarch's territory, they should be delivered into the hands of the Dutch at Batavia, who would use means to have them sent to Nangasaki. The ambassador was strictly forbidden to present any gifts while in the country, to make any purchases, to pay any visits, or to admit into his presence the Dutch factor, should he express a desire to have an interview. On the other hand, it was announced that the repairs of the ship and the supply of food and necessaries for the crew were charged to the imperial treasury. The latter included two thousand bags of salt, and a hundred sacks of rice, besides two thousand pieces of silk as a donation to the officers. The reasons assigned for rejecting the presents were, that the Emperor of Japan would be obliged to make a return to the Emperor of Russia, and for this purpose send an ambassador to Petersburg; a step which could not be taken without

violating the laws of the country, it being contrary to the immemorial usage of the several provinces for any one to leave his native land.

This, says Krusenstern, "was the result of an embassy which had raised such great expectations. We gained no new advantages, but even lost those we had possessed, namely, the written permission which Laxmann had procured for us to visit Nangasaki. All communication is now at an end between Japan and Russia, unless some great change should take place in the ministry of Jeddo, or indeed in the government itself, and this is perhaps not to be expected, although the interpreters flattered the ambassadors with assurances that this refusal had created a great sensation throughout Japan, but particularly in the cities of Miaco and Nangasaki."*

It appears from the narrative that the presents were actually landed and received by the provincial governors, among which were some mirrors of a remarkable size. When the captain asked the interpreter in what manner he proposed to convey them to Jeddo, the other replied that, like every other gift to his Imperial Majesty, they must be carried by men. The Russians affirmed that this would be impossible, as each of them would require at least sixty bearers, to be relieved at every half mile; upon which the learned functionary, looking stedfastly in his face, asked him very coolly whether he thought any thing was impossible to the Emperor of Japan! In confirmation of this lofty view of imperial omnipotence he mentioned that, in the previous year, the ruler of China sent a present of a live elephant, which was carried all the way from Nangasaki to Jeddo. Nay, as a further proof that when an order emanates from the throne all conceivable obstacles must give way, it was stated that a Chinese junk was wrecked in the Bay of Owang, on the eastern coast. It is expressly forbidden that

* Krusenstern's *Voyage round* the World, vol. i. p. 285.

foreign vessels shall enter any port save the one into which the Russians themselves were admitted; and if driven by accident or stress of weather into another, it is imperatively ordered that they shall be conveyed thither. The junk had lost her masts and rudder, and was otherwise much damaged; but, notwithstanding, it was necessary that she should be dragged round to Nangasaki. The owners wished to break her up and sell the cargo on the spot, a proposal which was not acceded to; the operation of removal therefore began, and after one hundred boats and six hundred men had been employed fourteen months in towing the wreck, it was brought into harbour full of water.*

With regard to the trade carried on between China and Japan, little information could be obtained either from the natives or the Dutch, the latter of whom were not disposed to communicate even the few details with which they were acquainted. It appears that twelve ships were permitted to visit Nangasaki annually from Ningpo (the Simfo of the Japanese), five of which arrive in June and sail in October; the seven others come in December and depart in March or April. Their cargoes consist chiefly of sugar, ivory, tin-plates, lead, silk stuffs, and tea. The exports from Japan are copper, camphor, lackered wares, umbrellas, but particularly the dye-fish, which is used as a medicine in China, and certain large muscles which, when properly preserved, are esteemed a great delicacy. Although, from the number of junks employed, it might seem that the trade is considerable, it is nevertheless believed that two ships of five hundred tons would contain all the goods conveyed by the twelve. A vessel is unloaded in the course of twelve hours; but it is done in the most careless manner, the boxes and bags being thrown out without any regard to their contents or the wishes of the owners. The main cause of this unpardonable negligence arises from the circumstance that the Chinese themselves are

* Krusenstern's Voyage, vol. i. p. 274.

not allowed to be present, the day after their arrival the captain and his whole crew being carried to the factory, and their junk placed in the hands of local agents, who are invested with a discretionary power in the management of the property. As soon as the ship is emptied, they take the opportunity of the first high tide at new or full moon to drag it ashore, where it remains quite dry till within a short time of their departure. It is remarkable that all intercourse between this country and the neighbouring shores of Corea has entirely ceased; a fact which was previously known to the Russians, but not explained by either party.*

It was not without great satisfaction that Krusenstern and all his people left Japan, its singular inhabitants, and impracticable government. Proceeding by the eastern coast, he passed within sight of an island which he supposed to be that of Oki, and on opening the Strait of Sangaar, which separates Niphon from Jesso, the weather was sufficiently favourable to enable him to determine by observation the latitude and longitude of the two promontories which mark the western termination of that channel. Holding his course to the northward he examined the coast of Jesso, and discovered that the Pic de Langle and Cape Guibert of La Perouse are not on the main land as laid down by that navigator, but on two different islands, between which and the north-western shore he entered into the strait which bears the name of the Frenchman, and anchored in a bay on which he bestowed the appellation of Romanzoff.

The Nadeshda no sooner came to anchor than several of the natives leaped on board. Their first salutation

* Krusenstern, vol. i. p. 276. For some of the historical facts mentioned in the foregoing pages, the reader will find authorities in Charlevoix's Histoire de Japon, Paris, 1754; Entick's Naval History, p. 390; Burney's Chronological History of the Discoveries in the South Sea, vol. xxi. p. 186-198; and Harris's Collection, vol. i. p. 256. In Entick, page 395, is to be found the letter from the Emperor of Japan to the King of England, and the treaty of commerce concluded by Captain Saris with the Japanese government in the name of the East India Company.

was to drop on their knees, lay both hands on the head, then, drawing them down the face and breast, make a profound inclination of the whole body. The Russians presented them with biscuit and brandy, but they showed no desire whatever for the strong water. One of them brought as a gift a boat-load of excellent herrings, which served the whole ship's company for a meal. The fish proved most excellent, finer indeed than the captain had ever seen; and as a hundred could be got for a single brass button, their mercantile value was not rated too high for an advantageous purchase.

Krusenstern was greatly disappointed in the appearance of the country, which was dreary and miserable in the extreme. All beyond the limits of the beach the surface showed nothing better than pebbles, bog, snow, or deep clay, on which it was impossible to proceed a single step. Not a leaf was to be seen on any of the trees, nor the least symptom of verdure, except what proceeded from a few wild leeks and some scattered beds of samphire; yet it was now the middle of May, and the northern point of Jesso is nearly in the same parallel with Venice, Lyons, and Milan. The captain remarks that, on his arrival at Kamtschatka about three weeks afterwards, he found vegetation much more advanced; and he adds, that in none of the western provinces of Russia, not even at Archangel itself, which is eighteen degrees more to the northward, could so raw a season be found in the same month.

One morning some Japanese went on board with an officer at their head, all of whom appeared extremely alarmed at the arrival of the Russians, and requested most earnestly that they would set sail. The leader seemed to be most deeply penetrated with apprehension; stating that as soon as the authorities at Matsmai, to whom he was bound to send a report, should hear of their being on the coast, a large fleet would be sent to punish the intruders, who, if they persisted in remaining, could not expect any mercy. They assured him that, as soon as the fog should dissipate, they would cer-

tainly take their leave; and meantime he was induced to communicate to them whatever geographical knowledge he had acquired, either from sailing along the coast or from conversation with strangers. He confirmed to them the existence of the island of Karafuto, which indeed they distinctly saw when the weather began to clear up, separated from their present position by a channel about eighteen miles wide.*

Passing the Strait of La Perouse the navigators arrived in Aniwa Bay, a deep inlet in the southern extremity of Sagalien, called Tchoka by the discoverer now named. There is reason to believe that this country, the Karafuto mentioned by the Japanese officer, is not an island as he imagined, but a large peninsula connected with Eastern Tartary, deriving its designation from the river Amour of the Russians, called by the natives Sagalien Oula, as stated by Du Halde, who adds that it forms a long narrow channel which may properly be called the Gulf of Tartary. Captain Broughton navigated this strait to the northward on the western side of Sagalien till he had only two fathoms water, while the passage to the northward appeared to be closed by low land; his latitude at this period being 52° north. La Perouse, who did not proceed so far by half a degree, and who had still a depth of at least six fathoms, held the opinion that the channel might be passed, and therefore that Tchoka is an island. Allusion has already been made to an old chart made by some Portuguese missionaries, in which Sagalien is laid down as a peninsula, attached to Eastern Tartary by a narrow isthmus near the spot where the Oula empties itself into the Sea of Ochotsk. Captain Krusenstern rounded the northern extremity of Sagalien on the eastern side till he could proceed no farther for the strength of the current, obviously the stream of the Amour; and he concludes, with Broughton and the missionaries, that it is not an island, but a peninsula. It will probably be found

* Krusenstern, vol. ii. p. 49.

hereafter to be separated by a shallow strait, resembling that of Manaar, which divides the island of Ceylon from the continent of India, or by a bank of sand, like the one which forms an isthmus between Table Bay and False Bay at the Cape of Good Hope.*

The Japanese have pushed their establishments even as far north as the Gulf of Aniwa, where many of their vessels were seen taking in cargoes of dried fish: and Krusenstern has adopted the opinion that some European nation of active habits would do well to fix a settlement there. There is abundance of furs, the skins of wolves, dogs, and foxes, as well as salted fish, which will always find a market in Corea and China. Even Kamtschatka and Siberia might be supplied from such a station with those European commodities which the inhabitants are obliged to procure through other channels at great expense and with much inconvenience. Whales, which the Japanese know not how to catch, are so numerous in the bay that it requires great precaution, in steering a boat, to avoid the hazard of being overset by them. Broughton says, there are horses, dogs, deer of several kinds, foxes, and rabbits; he describes the valleys as very beautiful, with clear rivers running through them; and adds, that almost all the shrubs indigenous in England are found growing in a healthy condition. Russia, it is admitted, labours under the disadvantage of an infrequent communication by sea, even with her own territories on the north-eastern borders of Asia; but England or America, which have greater facilities for colonization, might discover in Sagalien the means of extending their trade and employing their shipping.

It is a remark of the Russian commander, that the Japanese discipline exists even here, the farthest boundary of their possessions, in all its force. The superintendent could not be induced to accept a trifling present which the ambassador offered him, and even refused to take a single glass of sakky, their favourite beverage.

* Quarterly Review, vol. vi. p. 386.

The purpose of his residence in that remote part is to watch over the trade carried on by some merchants of his country with the Ainos, which appears to be very inconsiderable. The people now alluded to are described as extremely mild and inoffensive, contented and happy, though without the possession of any thing which in the more civilized countries of Europe is deemed essential to comfort. They are somewhat diminutive in stature, of a dark complexion, with bushy beards and lank hair, much resembling the natives of Kamtschatka, but displaying features more regular and less prominent. The women are rather plain naturally, and not much improved by having their hands and faces deeply tattooed, and their lips stained with blue paint; defects, however, which the Russians considered to be in no small degree compensated by their modest behaviour. Every where the greatest good-nature and a strong desire to please lighted up their expressive countenances, and both sexes evinced a peculiar simplicity of manners and singleness of heart. In a word, the captain declares that they are the best people with whom he became acquainted in the course of his long voyage. Their dress consists chiefly of the skins of dogs and seals. Some individuals at Sagalien wore furs, and others a robe of yellow stuff made from the bark of a tree, bordered with blue cloth. Their huts resemble the shape of a cone, formed of bark and covered with mats, erected apparently only for the fishing season; their permanent dwellings being situated at a distance in the interior.

Having spent the remainder of the season in examining the neighbouring coast, where he was finally obstructed by large fields of ice, the captain proceeded to Kamtschatka, making a narrow escape from shipwreck among the Kurile Islands. His details regarding the harbour of St Peter and St Paul must prove interesting to the practical seaman, though they can hardly be rendered entertaining to any other class of men. At this period, M. Resanoff and his attendants left the Nadeshda

and proceeded overland to St Petersburg; soon after which Krusenstern resumed his survey of the islands on the coast of Tartary, in the course of which he doubled the northern extremity of Sagalien, which he found to consist of a continuation of sandy downs. The impression on his mind became every day stronger that the country in question is really a peninsula and not an island; that it is a portion of the Tartarian dominions, and might be claimed by the khan; but, at the same time, that no ship in ordinary circumstances could make her way so near the land as to accomplish an inspection of the numerous creeks and bays from the mouth of the river Amour to the Russian boundary.

During his last stay at Kamtschatka, the commander collected much valuable information with respect to the statistics of that remote colony. The first view of the town, he remarks, is calculated to raise in the mind of a person newly arrived, and ignorant of the history of the establishment, the idea that it had been founded a few years before and recently abandoned. Nothing is visible that could at all persuade any one of its being inhabited by a civilized people. Awatska Bay and the three adjoining ones are entirely deserted; and the beautiful harbour of St Peter and St Paul itself is not enlivened by a single boat. Instead of this the shores are strewed with stinking fish, among which a number of half-starved dogs are seen wallowing and contending for possession. Two baydares belonging to the port and hauled ashore, might be held as an additional proof that the colony was of very recent origin, did not the visiter perceive at the same moment the wreck of a three-masted ship, which bears evident marks of having been in its present condition during some years. It would be in vain to look about upon landing for one well-built house, for a road, or even a path along which a person might walk in safety to the town; there is no garden, no meadow, no plantation of any kind indicative of the smallest cultivation; the only things to be perceived are a few huts, most of which are in an advanced stage of decay.

Instead of bridges over the few small brooks which flow from the neighbouring mountains into the valley where the town stands, are merely planks laid across them, and these must be passed with the greatest care. Five or six cows feeding in the vicinity of the houses, and innumerable dogs lying about in holes which they dig as resting-places and as a shelter against flies, are the only objects at St Peter and St Paul. As the greater part of the inhabitants are from Sagalien, and are absent during the whole day, a stranger may walk about several hours without meeting a single individual; and in the pale emaciated countenances of those whom he might chance to perceive, it would be difficult to recognise the descendants of the heroic Von Rimnik and of Trebbia.

Such is the miserable condition of this settlement, undoubtedly the most important place in Kamtschatka; and yet it is nearly a century and a half since Russia obtained possession of it. The great distance from the capital of the empire is usually assigned as the principal reason for the neglect with which its resources are treated, and for the many unfavourable impressions associated with its very name. But it is obvious that other causes must contribute to produce the belief, generally entertained, of its being a country in which cold, hunger, and every other species of misery are concentrated, and which seems condemned to be for ever deprived of all those enjoyments, moral and physical, on which mankind have agreed to place the highest value. It is admitted that the climate in the neighbourhood of the chief town is somewhat unfavourable, being exposed to fogs and frequent rain. Those, however, who have resided several years in the interior concur in the opinion, that the weather in the north is infinitely superior to what prevails generally in the more southern parts; while the soil is, with few exceptions, very fruitful. There every sort of corn is cultivated, and many kinds of vegetables; the length of the winter proving no obstacle to the growth of the more common descriptions of farm-produce. The real bar to prosperity is an indo-

lence which knows no bounds, and the immoderate use of spirits, which renders too many quite incapable of exertion. If the possessor of a garden—and it is open to every one to cultivate as much land as he pleases—were to begin to dig his ground in May, he might, says Krusenstern, furnish his table throughout the season not only with salads, radishes, and cucumbers, but also with cabbage, and pease and beans in perfection. No one, however, commences his labours till July, when there is no longer time to bring any thing to maturity. "I passed all the summer months in Kamtschatka during the two years of my absence; that is, the whole of June and part of July, and the whole of August and September, and can affirm with confidence that, in these four months, there are as many pleasant cheerful days as in any other place under the same latitude. The month of June was as beautiful as it can possibly be in the most favoured climate; and yet they consider this month as too early to till the ground, although the snow has at that time quite disappeared from the mountains, and the earth is thoroughly thawed."

The Kamtschadales, it is related, have embraced the christian religion; but the priests, whose condition is much neglected, do little honour to their profession. Want compels them to engage in trade, which they prosecute too much in the spirit of laymen, postponing their spiritual duties to the love of gain, or perhaps to the necessity of securing the means of life. The resident clergyman in St Peter and St Paul was a scandal to his order: in the interior they are said to be no better; and it cannot therefore be surprising that they are regarded by the people without either respect or affection.*

As the Neva meanwhile had been employed on the north-western shores of America in procuring furs for the Chinese market, it became necessary that the expedition, in order to accomplish one of the objects

* Krusenstern, vol. ii. p. 255.

enjoined by the imperial government, should proceed to Canton to dispose of the cargo. On their arrival at the city now named, which took place about the end of the year 1805, the captains announced to the authorities the intention of their visit. Permission was immediately granted, and they had nearly finished their business, when all at once proceedings were stopped, and they were told that they must wait patiently for the emperor's orders from Pe-king. The season for sailing in those seas being now near a close, the committee of the English factory remonstrated with the principal merchants, representing to them the disgrace and impropriety of their conduct in laying an embargo on the trade of a friendly nation without having the slightest cause of complaint against any person on board. This reasonable appeal had the desired effect; the cargoes were completed, and the Russians lost no time in quitting the river.

But the tyranny and caprice of the government did not stop here; for hardly had the ships passed the Bocca Tigris when an imperial mandate arrived enjoining that they should be instantly stopped. This document stated that the Hoppo Yen had informed the court of the arrival of two Russian vessels, with two foreign merchants, named Krusenstern and Lisianskoy, having in their possession a certain amount of specie and furs; that the said Hoppo, with the approbation of the Viceroy Ho, and the Sub-viceroy Sun, had allowed the Hong merchants to trade with them on fair and honest terms. This mode of proceeding was strongly condemned as at once negligent and informal; and it was added that the Hoppo was very culpable, and that Ho and Sun were deserving of the highest censure for their concurrence; more especially because the name of Russia had never before reached the court, unless it were to be considered as the foreign mode of pronouncing Go-lo-sé, a country the existence of which was not altogether unknown. Hoppo and the viceroy were therefore commanded to inquire whether

these dealers really came from the nation of Go-lo-sé, and if so, to ask how they, who had hitherto traded by way of Kiachta in Tartary, had now been able to find their passage to Canton. They were also instructed to ascertain whether the strangers had visited any other kingdoms in their passage thither, from whom they might have received information how to reach the shores of the celestial empire. Finally, these functionaries were desired to learn whether the cargoes belonged to the captains or to the sovereign whose subjects they were, and to transmit by express the whole intelligence thereby obtained to the supreme tribunal at Pe-king. If the ships should have departed before these injunctions arrived, the evil was to be held irreparable; but to prevent any similar encroachment, it was directed that no foreign vessel belonging to any other nation besides those who had been in the habit of frequenting the port, should on any account be permitted to anchor until the orders of the court were received and duly promulgated.

Such a reception from their neighbours in China and Japan was little fitted to encourage, on the part of the Russians, any attempt to renew an intercourse whether commercial or diplomatic. Indeed the ambassador, Resanoff, was so deeply offended by the insults inflicted on him at Nangasaki, that, on his return to St Petersburg, he projected a military expedition against the establishments of the latter country in the Bay of Aniwa and on the northern shore of Jesso. It would have been at once more wise and merciful to lead a colony of industrious cultivators, artisans, and shipowners into those remote parts of the world; where a reasonable prospect might be entertained of acquiring wealth by peaceable means, and at the same time of improving the condition of a gentle race of men who are held in a degrading subjection by the Japanese government.

About three years after the appearance of Krusenstern's volumes, a similar work appeared under the name

of Lisianskoy, whose ship parted from the Nadeshda at the Sandwich Islands, and proceeded to Kodiac and other of the Russian settlements on the coast of North America. Being employed chiefly in the collection of furs for the Chinese market, and in the small commerce with the natives incident to that pursuit, he had no opportunity of adding to our knowledge of the globe, or throwing any new light on the shores, bays, creeks, and islands which had been so carefully examined by Cook. He shares largely, however, in the merit due to his superior officer, to whom science is indebted for many valuable observations on astronomy and meteorology, in so far as these branches of physical research are connected with the progress of navigation in all parts of the great ocean. The geography, too, of the north-eastern regions of Asia has been much extended and defined, more particularly the Gulf of Tartary, the sea of Ochotsk, and the Kurile archipelago.*

Kotzebue, whose labours in the cause of discovery we are now about to notice, sailed with Krusenstern in the Nadeshda, and was indeed recommended by him as a suitable person to take the command of the Rurick, a ship fitted out at the expense of Count Romanzoff, the chancellor of the empire. The main object of this enterprise, no doubt, was the determination of the geographical problem as to the existence of a navigable passage between the Atlantic and Pacific along the northern verge of America. A design was for a moment entertained of sailing across the polar basin; but success in this attempt being considered next to impossible, it was finally resolved to advance into Behring's Straits, and endeavour to penetrate through the ice from west to east. The count, indeed, meant to attempt a passage, at the same time, from east to west, in a larger vessel,

* A Voyage round the World in the Years 1803-4-5-6, performed by order of his Imperial Majesty Alexander the First, Emperor of Russia, in the Ship Neva, by Urey Lisianskoy, Captain in the Russian Navy, and Knight of the Orders of St George and Vladimir. London, 1814.

which he hoped to procure from the United States, and with this view had already opened a correspondence with certain individuals in that republic. Difficulties soon arose which were not at first anticipated; and these, joined to the knowledge that the English were about to fit out an expedition for the same purpose, dissuaded him from persevering in this subordinate part of his plan. With regard to the scheme of attempting to find a channel from the Sea of Kamtschatka to the Atlantic Ocean, it was no doubt recollected that the endeavours of Cook and Clerke in Behring's Strait had left but little hope of penetrating farther to the north than the latitude they had attained; but there were parts of the American coast, both north and south of that channel, which those celebrated navigators could not explore; a circumstance which at least left a little hope that some inlet might be found connected perhaps with a large river falling into the Frozen Sea, on whose stream it might prove easier to reach the Atlantic than by the arduous course round Icy Cape.

The preparations for the voyage were confided to the zeal and experience of Krusenstern, who, as on a former occasion, repaired to London, where the articles indispensable in such a voyage are procured better and cheaper than any where else.* It was not till the begin-

* "A Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Behring's Straits, for the purpose of exploring a North-East Passage, undertaken in the Years 1815-1818, &c. Under the command of the Lieutenant in the Russian Imperial Navy, Otto von Kotzebue." 3 vols, London, 1821; vol. i. p. 18. "The ship was likewise provided with a life or safety-boat, which the English Admiralty had ordered to be built for the Rurick at my request. During my stay in England I had visited the harbour of Plymouth, and there seen a life-boat, the invention of Mr Fincham, a master shipbuilder. The judicious contrivance, and the small size of this boat, which was provided with air-chests, made me anxious to have such a one for Lieutenant Kotzebue. On my return to London, therefore, I made an application in writing to the Admiralty, and received on the same day an answer from the secretary Mr Barrow, who enjoys a most honourable reputation both as a traveller and a writer, stating that the heads of the Admiralty had immediately issued an order to build one for Count Romanzoff's expedition, according to the di-

ning of October 1815 that the Rurick left the shores of England, proceeding on her course towards Teneriffe, whence she sailed to Brazil, doubled Cape Horn, touched at the port of Conception in Chili, and, in June the following year, arrived at Kamtschatka. No incidents occurred during that long run, which in an abridged form would afford either instruction or amusement to the reader. Having left the Russian settlement, Kotzebue steered for the American coast; on his approach to which he found himself in the group of islands that bear the name of St Lawrence. The first aspect was by no means inviting; high mountains covered with snow, and a rocky beach enveloped in fog. He observed people and tents on shore, and imagining that they had never been visited by Europeans, he resolved to gratify the curiosity of the naturalists whom he had on board, as well as to secure to himself the honour of a discovery. Two boats were accordingly dropped into the water, which were manned with sailors bearing the usual weapons of attack or defence. At a small distance from the land, they met a baydare or canoe rowed by ten natives, who approached them without fear, bawling as loud as they could raise their voices, holding fox-skins in the air, and beckoning in a manner at once eager and ludicrous. But they also, suspicious of their visiters, had arms concealed in the bottom of their small skiff, though their fears soon gave place to confidence. Proofs were not long absent that the Rurick was not the only European ship which the islanders had seen, for, besides manifesting a disposition to barter, they asked a present of tobacco. In many respects they resemble the inhabitants of Norton Sound as described by Captain Cook: they are of a middle stature, robust make, and healthy appearance; their clothing, which is very simple in its fashion, consists of skins, and their dwellings are filthy in the highest degree.

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mensions given by me. This was done, and when the Rurick put into Plymouth on her voyage, the boat was delivered to Kotzebue without any *payment whatever being* asked for it."

This spot of land is called Tschibocki by the inhabitants, who give to the American coast, towards the east, the name of Kililack. The former is sufficiently steril and repulsive. Not a single tree, not even a small bush, adorns the gray rocks; only short grass sprouts up here and there among the moss, and a few stunted plants rise through the surface of the ground. The botanists, notwithstanding, succeeded in discovering some interesting flowers, unknown to the scientific collectors in more genial climates.

Near the northern point of the St Lawrence Islands several baydares were seen approaching the ship, each of them containing not fewer than ten men. When they had advanced within a few yards they left off rowing, and then with doleful voices commenced a mournful song. At the same time, one of them arose, holding up a small black dog, and after speaking some words in a very impressive manner, drew a knife with which he inflicted a mortal wound on the animal, and forthwith threw it into the sea. The meaning of this sacrifice appears not to have been comprehended by the navigators, though from the solemnity of the act, and the silence which prevailed during the performance of it, there can be no doubt that it partook of a religious nature. Its importance in the eyes of the simple savages became more manifest from the fact, that it was not until the ceremony was duly concluded any of them would venture on board.

In a region of the world where the whole coast is fringed with insular groups, the discovery of an unknown creek or islet can excite no surprise, and ought not to be made the ground of undue triumph. After passing Cape Prince of Wales, Kotzebue perceived a small island, which he called Ratmanoff, in compliment to an officer who had sailed with him under Krusenstern. He remarks, "it is very surprising that neither Cook nor Clerke should have seen it, as both their courses led them close by it; and it has occurred to me that it may have since risen from the sea." To the

northward of the cape just designed, is a long tract of low ground covered with luxuriant verdure, and presenting the appearance of a considerable population. On landing, the seamen found the houses in the exclusive possession of dogs, the people having fled. These dwellings were greatly superior to any hitherto seen, being constructed of more durable materials, and divided into a number of apartments by means of wooden partitions. The floors, raised three feet from the ground, were likewise formed of timber, which is understood to be supplied by the north-eastern current sweeping past the mouths of the rivers on the American coast, where trees grow to a large size. It soon became apparent that the shore on which they had debarked was not a part of the continent, but an island seven miles long, and about one mile across in the widest part. Beyond it was an inlet running deeply into the mainland; on entering which, two boats were observed, of the same description as those used by the natives of the Aleutian group. The aspect of the crews was exceedingly disgusting; their persons were filthy; their countenances had an expression of fierceness; and no inducements could prevail upon them to land. They hit their heads with both their hands and then fell down, as if dead, probably to give their visiters to understand that their lives were not safe in the vicinity of such strangers. It should seem that they were not acquainted with firearms, because they did not keep out of the reach of shot, though a number of muskets were standing near.*

* Voyage of Discovery, &c., vol. i. p. 203. Kotzebue gives a inute description of the houses mentioned in the text. "We now xamined the interior of their dwellings, and found them cleanly d convenient. We entered first into an apartment ten feet long, ven broad, and seven high; the walls and the top were covered th wood. To the left hand, in a pit which extended all along e room, lay pieces of black blubber about a foot square, and be- e these lay sieves with long handles. Several utensils, and other y neat work of the inhabitants, lay scattered about in their llings. I particularly remarked two very neat-made sledges of se and whale bones, which likewise shows that they are used e drawn by dogs." *Vol. i. pp.* 200, 201.

The island and the bay behind it are known respectively by the names of Saritscheff and Schismareff; each being intended to preserve the memory of a nautical friend. In his attempts to survey the latter, Kotzebue encountered so many obstructions, owing to currents and sandbanks, that, relinquishing a complete examination till the following year, he resolved to proceed into Behring's Strait, of which the navigation is not open more than a short period every season. On the first of August, he perceived that the coast took a direction very much to the east, the land continuing low. At eleven he found himself at the entrance of a broad inlet; the shore towards the east gradually vanished, and high mountains rose in the north. Here the wind suddenly abating, he was obliged to cast anchor; the nearest land lay to the south-east at the distance of four miles, the current running strong into the entrance.

The commander of the Rurick was now on the point of making a discovery which will secure to his name a certain degree of distinction in the annals of naval enterprise. He appreciated the importance of his position, and the value of the fame which seemed within his reach; declaring that he could not describe the strange sensation which he experienced at the idea that he perhaps stood near the opening of the long-sought passage into the Atlantic, and that "fate had chosen him to be the discoverer." He felt his heart oppressed, and, at the same time, an impatience which would not let him rest, and was still increased by the perfect calm. He ordered two boats to be got ready, and, accompanied by the naturalists, set out at two o'clock with the intention of ascending some eminence, and thence marking the direction of the shore. From the summit of a hill in the neighbourhood he could nowhere perceive land in the strait; and it was obvious that the high mountains towards the north either formed islands, or constituted a separate coast; for that the two could not be connected together was quite manifest even from the great difference between the low beach near which he stood,

and the remarkably high land on which his eyes were fixed. He now commanded a very extensive view into the country, which stretched out into a large plain, interrupted occasionally by marshes, small lakes, and a river which, flowing with numerous windings, fell into the bay at a short distance from his station. As far as vision could extend, every thing was green; here and there were flowers in blossom, and no snow could be seen but on the tops of the remotest mountains; and yet at the depth of only half a foot under this verdant carpet was found a solid bed of ice.

It was his intention to continue his survey of the coast in the boats; but a number of baydares approaching from the east induced him to pause. Five of them soon touched the shore near which he stood, landing eight or ten men, each armed with lances and bows. At the head of every canoe was a fox-skin on a high pole, with which they beckoned to the Russians, uttering at the same moment the loudest cries. He ordered his crew to prepare themselves for defence, and meanwhile advanced, in company with the naturalists, to meet the savages, who, on seeing them approach, sat down like Turks forming a circle on the ground, an attitude by which, it was understood, they meant to make known their friendly intentions. Two chiefs, it was observed, had seated themselves apart from the rest. The Europeans entered the circle well armed, perceiving that the natives had left most of their weapons in the baydares, though they had long knives concealed in their sleeves. Distrust, curiosity, and astonishment, were painted in their countenances; they spoke incessantly, but not a word was understood by the other party. To give them a proof of his amicable sentiments, the lieutenant distributed some tobacco, assigning to the chiefs a double portion; and they were all evidently delighted with this valuable present. With the low cunning peculiar to an uncivilized state of society, those who received first secretly changed their places in the ring in the hope of obtaining a second allotment. "It

was," says the historian of the voyage, "a curious sight to see this savage horde sitting in a circle, smoking out of white stone pipes with wooden tubes."

Tobacco, it may be noticed in passing, is supplied to the tribes of north-western America by the Tschukotzkoi, who inhabit the opposite shores of Asia, and who traffic with them in the exchange of European goods for skins and other fruits of their industry. Kotzebue farther bestowed upon the two leading persons who sat apart, a gift of knives and scissors. The latter implement, with which they seemed to be altogether unacquainted, afforded particular pleasure, especially when they found it would be extremely useful for cutting their hair; an operation to which it was immediately applied all round the circle. A friendly feeling manifested itself on both sides, mixed, indeed, with the caution on the one hand and the suspicion on the other which are inseparable from the first meeting of two classes of men standing at such a distance in point of social improvement. These hyperborean Americans are described as being of a middle size, robust make, and healthy appearance: their motions are lively, and they seemed much inclined to sportiveness; but their countenances, though not expressive of stupidity, are very plain, being characterized by small eyes and very high cheek-bones. They have holes on each side of the mouth, in which they wear rings ornamented with blue glass beads, which give them a most frightful appearance. Their hair, which hangs down at full length behind, is cut quite short on the crown of the head. Their dress, which, as already mentioned, is made of skins, follows the same fashion as that used in Kamtschatka; besides which they wear pantaloons, and small boots composed of coarse leather manufactured from the hide of the seal.*

It should seem, from various indications, that this isolated people had made more than the usual progress

* Kotzebue's Voyage, vol. i. p. 210.

in the knowledge of some mechanical arts. On the shore was observed a round tower built of stone, about twenty feet in height and six in diameter; but as it was not minutely examined, no conclusion could be drawn as to its origin or purpose. Their arms consist of lances, bows, arrows, and a knife two feet long, always carried in a sheath. Their lances, which are of iron, are well wrought, and probably of European manufacture. They had various articles of domestic workmanship which they were ready to exchange for tobacco, looking-glasses, and other trifling commodities; but they would not sell their skins, especially those of the black fox, except for goods of more permanent value.

Kotzebue still entertained the hope of finding a passage through the inlet into which he had entered. He was nearly in the latitude of 67°; a man from the masthead could perceive nothing but sea to the eastward, and in such circumstances it is not surprising that his "expectations were at the highest pitch." Animated by this prospect he spent thirteen days in surveying the shores of the bay; but the only passage out of it was on the south-eastern side, apparently communicating with Norton Sound, and a channel on the western side, opening, it is probable, into the recess he had lately visited, and which bears the name of Schismareff. He therefore resolved to intermit his researches till the following year, when he hoped to make important discoveries; satisfied that, though a north-eastern passage could not be anticipated with certainty, he should be able to penetrate much farther to the east, as the land had very deep indentures.

In the course of his investigations he came upon an island, which he called Chamisso, in compliment to the naturalist who usually accompanied him. From a high point in it the party commanded an extensive view, and ascertained that the land on which they stood was divided from the continent by a strait five miles broad in the narrowest part. Snow was nowhere to be seen; the mountains were covered with moss, and the shore

was clothed with a luxuriant verdure. "I readily confess," says he, "that I seldom felt happier than on this spot; to which the idea of being the first European that ever put his foot on it may have greatly contributed." To the inlet, indeed, he gave the name of the Bay of Good Hope, having little doubt that his most brilliant prospects as a navigator would in due time be fully realized by accomplishing a voyage through some one of the arms which stretch out from it.

On a promontory which extends into the sea from the south-eastern shore a party who had landed made a singular discovery. They had climbed about a great deal during their stay without finding out that they were on a real iceberg. The doctor, who had extended his excursions, noticed that part of the bank was broken down, and saw to his astonishment that the interior of the mountain consisted of pure ice. At this news they all went, provided with shovels and crows, to examine the phenomenon more closely, and soon arrived at a place where the hill rises almost perpendicularly out of the water to the height of more than a hundred feet. There they perceived masses of the purest ice more than thirty yards thick, which are under a cover of moss and grass, and could not, they imagined, have been produced but by some terrible convulsion of nature. This part, which by some accident had fallen in, and was thereby exposed to the sun and air, melted away, and a good deal of moisture flowed into the gulf. They considered as an indisputable proof of what they saw being real ice that a large quantity of mammoths' teeth and bones was exposed to view by the melting, and among which the lieutenant himself found a very fine tooth. There was, at the same time, a strong smell like that of burnt horn, for which he could not account; but which he might have referred to the fire he kindled for the purpose of making tea, for the effluvium that reached his nostrils was evidently the effect of heat acting on animal matter. He states that the covering of the hill, on which the most luxuriant grass springs to a certain height, is only half

a foot thick, and consists of a mixture of clay, sand, and earth; below which, as the ice gradually melts, the green cover sinks in proportion, but continues to grow; "and thus," he concludes, "it may be foreseen that in a long series of years the mountain will vanish, and a green valley be found in its stead."

Chamisso, the naturalist of the expedition, considers this formation to be similar to the ground-ice covered with vegetation at the mouth of the Lena, out of which the mammoth, the skeleton of which is now at St Petersburg, was thawed. It is more probable that it is a common iceberg, produced from the source whence all such accumulations derive their existence. A stream of water falling from a precipice is converted, at the approach of winter, into a sheet of ice on the beach. Next season a new layer is added, which, from the operation of the same cause, receives a successive increase, and at length the mass attains such a weight that, separating from the land to which it has attached itself, it falls into the waves, and is carried forth into the ocean by the reflux of the tides. All our northern navigators affirm that stones, moss, and earth have been observed on the icebergs which are seen floating in Baffin's Bay and Davis' Straits. There is, indeed, a difficulty in regard to the teeth of the huge animals whose relics have been detected in other parts of the arctic ocean; and questions might be agitated respecting them, which, however closely connected with geological hypotheses, have no relation to a voyage of discovery accomplished by a plain seaman.

Leaving Kotzebue's Sound the Rurick shaped her course for the Asiatic shore, for reasons which, though satisfactory to her commander, are not quite intelligible to the reader of his volumes. "According to my instructions," says he, "I was to have looked for a safe anchoring-place in Norton Sound, and from thence to proceed next year farther to examine the coast; but, as fortune directed me to a hitherto unknown sound, which affords the safest anchoring-places, and where an

expedition by land must be far more interesting than in Norton Sound, I consider a voyage thither as quite unnecessary." He therefore resolved to spend some time on the Asiatic coast, in order to become acquainted with its inhabitants, and to compare them with the Americans; a determination the wisdom of which has been questioned, both because it led him to throw away time which might have been better employed in pursuing the main object of his expedition, and more especially because the Russian territory which he went to visit was already sufficiently known to all the maritime states of Europe.

With reference to the practicability of a north-east passage, his observations tended to invest with the authority of facts certain opinions which, till that period, seemed to rest merely on the basis of conjecture. One of the arguments in favour of undertaking a voyage along the northern shores of America derived its chief plausibility from the inference that, as a constant current descends into Hudson's Bay on the eastern side of the continent, an equal flow of water must enter Behring's Straits from the Pacific on the western side. Every circumstance recorded by navigators appeared to countenance this conclusion; such as the floating of the driftwood towards the north, the retiring of the ice in the same direction, and, in particular, the temperature of the water. Kotzebue and his friend Chamisso concur in affirming that it is to this current, which moves incessantly, the inhabitants of Sarïtscheff's Island are indebted for the supply of wood so necessary to their comfort, consisting, in some instances, of the trunks of large trees. The naturalist remarks that, on the breaking up of the ice in the sea of Kamtschatka, the bergs and icy fields "do not drift as in the Atlantic to the south, nor do they drive to the Aleutian Islands, but into the strait to the north." When near the Asiatic side of the channel, he found it running with a velocity of not less than three miles an hour; and they all confidently assert, that even with a fresh north wind, it

continued to run equally strong from the south. Nay, the lieutenant maintains that the direction of the current was always north-east in Behring's Straits, and records that, on one occasion, in the course of twenty-four hours, it carried the ship fifty miles from the land to which her head was turned. He therefore almost necessarily arrived at the conclusion already mentioned, and in which he had been anticipated by other writers, on theoretical as well as practical grounds. The constant flow of the current into the strait "proves that the water meets with no opposition, and consequently, a passage must exist, though perhaps not adapted to navigation." Such speculations, since the days of Ross, Parry, and Beechey, have lost much of their interest; it being no longer doubtful that the vast influx between East Cape and the opposite headland takes its course round America, and returns into the ocean through Davis' Strait.

Some light has also been thrown by the voyage of the Rurick on a subject which has from time to time occupied the attention of philosophers; namely, the great difference of temperature between the eastern and western sides of continents or large islands. For example, it was found that while all was verdure at Cape Prince of Wales in America, the corresponding point in Asia was covered with "eternal ice." Kotzebue incidentally remarks when at East Cape, that "ice and snow have maintained their rule here since last year, and in this state we find the whole coast; while in America even the summits of the mountains are free from snow: there, the navigator sees the coast covered with a green carpet, while here, black mossy rocks frown upon him, with snow and icicles." In fact, a few hours' sailing directly to the westward from the eastern verge of the strait sank the thermometer from 59° to 43° of Fahrenheit. Various reasons have been suggested to account for this meteorological phenomenon. Humboldt has taken a philosophical view of the subject, which, in particular situations, may be considered as explaining the cause,

at least to a certain extent; but it is manifest that his theory will not account for this extraordinary difference between two continents separated only by a strait of thirteen leagues in width. It is extremely difficult to comprehend why the warmth of the Great Pacific, which tempers the rigorous cold of the Frozen Ocean on the American side, should refuse to mitigate the severity of the weather on the Asiatic side, more especially, as it appears, from repeated observations made during this expedition, that the current from the south was equally strong on both sides of the channel.

Chamisso ventures so far upon a hypothetical elucidation as to ask whether the theory which explains the sea and land breezes on the coasts, alternating by day and by night, the local summer and winter monsoons, as also the general trade-winds, might not suffice in most cases to explain the partial differences of climate under the same latitude? He farther develops his views by remarking that, when we extend our eyes over the globe, it appears to us that the twofold current of the atmosphere from the equator to the poles, in its upper regions, and from the poles to the equator in the lower, must bring over Europe from the interior of Africa, which is scorched by the sun, a current of air far more heated, in proportion, than over any other country in the world. He considers the continent lying to the south and south-west of Europe, between the line and the northern tropic, as a furnace which heats the air that passes over it and determines its climate; and in general, he thinks that continents lying between the equator and the tropics must give to the more eastern parts of the world, towards the pole, a warmer climate than other parts enjoy, though under the influence of seas similarly placed.

But this system of meteorology will not account for the fact that the eastern coast of America is colder than the western, though it might afford a reason for the more familiar phenomenon, that the shores of Europe washed by the Atlantic, above the fiftieth degree of latitude, are

warmer than those on the opposite side though bathed by the same ocean. He admits that our observations are still too few and imperfectly defined to support any theory which must rest on an extensive induction; adding that he only wished to point out the thought which struck them, as passing travellers, in the north of the great ocean, at the sight of the wintry Aleutian Islands in the latitude of Hamburg, and the coasts of Behring's Straits under the latitude of Drontheim in Norway.*

The descriptions of the scenery, manners, and usages of Oonalaska, given by the lieutenant and his associates, present nothing either new or interesting. The inhabitants are generally supposed to belong to that extraordinary race of men commonly known by the name of Esquimaux, and who, commencing at the Kolyma, and probably much farther westward in Asia, have settled on the seacoast and islands of that continent, down to the Gulf of Anadyr, Behring's Straits, the Aleutian group, the western shores of America from the promontory of Alaska, the borders of the Polar Sea, Hudson's Bay, Baffin's Bay, Old Greenland, and Labrador. Every where, indeed, along this vast extent of country, where the gigantic mammalia of the waters abound, and from which their food, raiment, dwellings, and utensils are derived, may their small establishments be traced. Miserable as their condition appears to be, they are contented with it, and always cheerful; living in small independent hordes, and, it should seem, on terms of perfect equality. Civil and obliging to strangers, they are courteous to one another, and amidst their putrid fish and oil, carefully observe the decencies of domestic life. Woman here is not degraded from her rank in society by that curse which polygamy has entailed on the whole sex, whether in savage or more civilized life. Of this common feature of Asiatic manners they have happily divested themselves; but, what is not a

* Remarks and Opinions of the Naturalist of the Expedition, Kotzebue's Voyage, vol. iii. p. 278.

little remarkable, they have preserved a language of singular complication in its mechanism, which, with some little variety in the dialect, is spoken from the north-eastern point of Asia to the northern extremity of Old Greenland. An Esquimaux interpreter, from the banks of Chesterfield Inlet, understood the vocabularies composed by the missionaries of Labrador; and the surgeon of the Rurick was fully convinced of the identity of the same tongue with that of the Aleutian Islands. A question naturally suggests itself to the philosophical inquirer, as to how this community has been maintained through a succession of ages, between tribes so very widely separated, without any written character, and with little or no intercourse, when, among nations in a much higher state of civilisation, the languages are frequently so different as not to be generally understood. It is probable that this circumstance, so unusual in the history of the human race, may be explained by a reference to the fewness of the wants felt in savage life, and to the limited number of objects by which they are surrounded.*

From the arctic circle the Rurick was steered to California, where the commander had some intercourse with the Spanish and other European residents at the several presidios. But his observations add nothing to those of La Perouse and Vancouver. The same lazy routine, the same self-indulgence, and the same tyranny towards the natives, continued to distinguish the missionaries along the whole coast of Chili, where they have long occupied the best parts of the country without improving them. Kotzebue was not a little surprised to hear from the governor that there were many Russian prisoners in California. A ship belonging to the American Company, a trading association formed at St Petersburg, had touched on the coast for commercial purposes; and as all such intercourse is prohibited by the Spanish law, a part of the crew who, not suspecting any evil, had ventured on shore,

* Voyage, vol. i. p. 272. Quarterly Review, vol. xxvi. p. 337.

were seized by the soldiers and dragged to a place of confinement. By the express orders of the Viceroy of Mexico, the governor was not allowed to deliver them up to Kuskof, the agent of the company, but consented to resign them to the lieutenant, should he find it convenient to receive them on board. The smallness of his vessel compelled him to limit the number to three, in addition to whom he accommodated Mr Elliot de Castro, a resident who was desirous of a passage to the Sandwich Islands.

On arriving at the dominions of Tamehameha the Russian discovered that there prevailed among the people a strong prejudice against his countrymen. The cause of this unfavourable impression was traced to a visit, made about five months previously, by two of the American Company's ships, when a dispute took place between the natives and some of the men who had been allowed to land for refreshments. Imagining that they had suffered injustice at the hands of the Owhyheeans, the strangers at their departure threatened to return with a large force, including a powerful man-of-war, which would enable them to inflict a suitable chastisement upon the uncivil islanders. The king himself, it soon became manifest, had likewise dreaded this hostile invasion, and with the view of opposing such formidable enemies, had given orders to station soldiers all along the coast. The troops in the vicinity of the port, amounting to about four hundred, were armed with muskets, and otherwise well appointed. His majesty, who yielded to the apprehensions of his people for his safety, did not deem it proper to go on board the Rurick, though respectfully invited; but as a proof of his friendly intentions he entertained the officers on shore, having first delivered into their hands one of his principal chiefs in the character of hostage.

Through an interpreter Tamehameha thus addressed his visiter: "I learn that you are the commander of a ship-of-war, and are engaged in a voyage

similar to those of Cook and Vancouver, and consequently do not enter into trade: it is therefore my intention not to carry on any with you, but to provide you gratis with every thing my islands produce. This affair is now settled, and no farther mention need be made of it. I shall now beg you to inform me whether it is with the consent of your emperor that his subjects begin to disturb me in my old age! Since Tamehameha has been king of these islands, no European has had cause to complain of having suffered injustice here. I have made my islands an asylum for all nations, and honestly supplied with provisions every ship that desired them. Some time ago there came from the American settlement of Sitka some Russians, a nation with whom I never had any intercourse before: they were kindly received, and supplied with every thing necessary; but they have ill-rewarded me, for they behaved in a hostile manner to my subjects in the island of Woahoo, and threatened us with ships-of-war which were to conquer these islands; but this shall not happen as long as Tamehameha lives!"

Kotzebue assured the monarch, whose conversation was equally intelligent and polite, that the bad conduct of his countrymen must not be ascribed to the will of the emperor, who never commanded his subjects to do an unjust act, but to the vast extent of his dominions, which prevented him from being immediately informed of what was done amiss, and from punishing the guilty. Delighted with this assurance, his majesty ordered the glasses to be filled to the health of his brother the czar. In all respects, indeed, he acquitted himself as a most agreeable and obliging host, conversing with a vivacity surprising at his age, and putting questions respecting Russia which indicated no small degree of knowledge in regard to European politics.

We now proceed to give an account of Kotzebue's greatest discovery, viewed at least in the light supplied by his patron Krusenstern, who, influenced by a natural partiality towards his pupil, claims for him a degree of

merit which, so far from being exclusively his own, must, it is believed, be shared with older navigators. Intending to spend part of the winter among the insular groups near the northern tropic, both with the view of finding refreshment for his men and of enlarging his nautical map, he left the dominions of Tamehameha with his face turned towards the south-west. On the first of January 1817, when in lat. 10° 10′ N. and long. 189° 54′ W., he perceived a low islet, well covered with wood, emerging above the horizon. The natives, who were elegantly shaped, with high foreheads and aquiline noses, hovered round the ship, manifesting an earnest desire to enter into friendly relations with the foreigners. In other particulars, besides figure and complexion, they seemed superior to most of the tribes scattered over the surface of the South Sea. Their hair, which was neatly tied up, presented ornaments composed of flowers and coloured shells; and instead of huge ear-rings, the usual deformity of savages, they displayed cylinders of green leaves gracefully suspended from either side of the face. As no single islands in this part of the ocean were known to the lieutenant, he not unreasonably concluded that the little settlement with which he had just become acquainted must be a new discovery.

Soon afterwards he fell in with a chain of islands, or rather a succession of clusters, each consisting of a circular reef of coral rocks, out of which, at irregular distances, rose a number of flat islets richly stored with the bread-fruit, the pandanus, and cocoa-nut trees. These also are claimed for the commander of the Rurick by his former chief, though there is great reason to doubt whether they are not the same which were seen by Captain Marshall in 1788, and by the Nautilus in 1799, and bearing on the charts the name of the vessel just specified, as well as those of Chatham and Calvert. But whatever may be his rights as a discoverer, he is certainly entitled to the honour of having defined their true position, and of having also collected some valuable facts illustrative of the origin of such formations. It is

well known that throughout a large portion of the Pacific there are numerous groups which rise out of the water like fairy rings in a meadow; the upper surface of which is composed of calcareous fragments of a great variety of shapes, the production of marine animals, and usually described as coral rocks. Chamisso, allowing himself to be guided by the fact that these islets are not found in all situations, and that when they do occur they usually appear in rows, and are united in clusters as if resting on a common basis, arrived at the conclusion, that the minute creatures to whose labours they are ascribed must found their buildings on shoals, or, more correctly speaking, on the tops of mountains lying under water.

The extreme depth at which these insects can carry on their toils has not yet been ascertained, though it was found that, in Baffin's Bay, similar animals existed at the depth of a thousand fathoms, and in a temperature below the freezing point. On the one side, as they increase they continue to approach the surface of the sea; on the other side, they extend the boundary of their work. The larger species, which form blocks several fathoms in thickness, seem to prefer the more violent surf on the external edge of the reef, and as soon as it reaches such a height that it is dry at low water, they leave off building. At this stage various shells, fragments of coral, and the exuviæ of the sea-hedgehog, are cemented, by the heat of the sun acting on the calcareous sand, into one solid mass, which, augmented by the continual accession of new materials, gradually increases in thickness, till at length it becomes so high that it is covered only at some seasons of the year by the spring tides which periodically occur. In the next place, the solar heat so penetrates the mass of stone when it is dry that it splits in many places, and breaks off in flakes; which again are raised upon one another by the waves whenever the surface of the ocean is unusually elevated. The powerful surf, of which the action never ceases, throws large blocks of coral, frequently a fathom in length and three

or four feet thick, upon the summit of the reef; and, in a little time, the comminuted shells and calcareous sand remains undisturbed, offering to the seeds of trees and plants cast upon them a soil upon which they rapidly grow to overshadow its white dazzling surface. Entire trunks of trees, which are carried by the rivers of other islands, and even distant continents, find here at length a resting-place after their long wanderings, conveying with them various small animals, such as lizards and insects, as the first inhabitants of the newly-formed islet. But before the trees have risen up into a wood, the sea-birds have found themselves a place where they may lay their young; other winged creatures, driven thither by storms, take refuge among the bushes; and at a much later period, when the work has long been completed, man also appears, builds his hut on the primitive soil, and calls himself the proprietor of a possession which sprung from the working of unconscious animalcules.

It is deserving of notice, however, that the reef, though circular, is not so complete as to enclose the whole of the interior, into which the sea must have a free admittance at the flow of the tide. Nay, the exterior wall consists of a number of elevated points, which themselves may be viewed as little islands, amounting, in some cases, to as many as sixty, and having the land between them quite dry at the time of ebb. In those latitudes, where a constant monsoon prevails, and where the waves beat only on one side of the reef, it is easy to understand why this section of the outer parapet should be found to have derived its chief materials from blocks of coral and fragments of shell, and be seen to rise first above the level of the waves. It is only with regard to the nature and formation of this class of islands that any certain knowledge has been attained; for as to those more gigantic groups in that ocean which washes the shores of India and China, from the charts given of them it may be inferred that every side is equally advanced in formation.

The coral islands, though they owe their existence to the operation of the same series of causes, do not in all respects strictly resemble one another; and it is extremely probable that their varying extent, as well as the degree of dissimilitude which appears among them, are owing to the size and form of the submarine mountains on which they are respectively founded. In all cases the inner shores of the isles, those, namely, which surround the salt water lakes in the interior, consist of fine sand washed up by the tide; presenting thus both a soil and shelter to the smaller plants which could not endure the dash of the outer wave or the constant action of the wind. Among the peculiarities of these insular dwellings, no dew falls, no tempest rages, and the course of the wind seldom undergoes any change.

The lieutenant, more contemplative than Davis, Baffin, or Cook, cannot refrain from uttering reflections which, however just in themselves, would have perhaps assumed a more suitable air had they proceeded from the pen of one of his philosophers. "The spot on which I stood filled me with astonishment, and I adored in silent admiration the omnipotence of God, who had given even to these minute animals the power to construct such a work!" His thoughts were confounded when he considered the immense series of ages that must elapse before such an island can rise from the fathomless abyss of the ocean and become visible on the surface. At a future period, says he, they will assume another shape; all the islands will join, and form a circular slip of earth with a pond or lake in the centre; and this form will again change, as these animals continue building, till they reach the surface, and then the water will altogether vanish, and only one great island be visible. It is a strange feeling to walk about upon a recent formation where all below is actively at work. And to what corner of the earth can we penetrate, where human beings are not already to be found? In the remotest regions of the north, amidst mountains of ice, under

the burning sun of the equator, nay, even in the middle of the ocean, or islands which have been formed by animals, they are met with."*

On the seventh day of February Kotzebue sailed from the "beloved Otdia," one of the Radack chain, after having spent a happy period among the "uncorrupted children of nature." His intention was to return to the western shore of North America, with the view of resuming the survey which had been interrupted the previous year; and on the thirteenth of April he had reached the latitude of 44° 30′, and longitude 181° 8′, when an occurrence took place which compelled him to alter his plan, and in fact to relinquish the undertaking. The weather had already become bad; there were violent storms with hail and snow; and on the night of the twelfth a hurricane arose which tore up the sea in masses such as no one had ever before seen. "Nobody," says the commander, "who has not witnessed such a scene can form an adequate idea of it. It seemed as if a direful revolution was at that moment destroying the whole fabric of nature. At four o'clock in the morning I was just looking at the height of a foaming wave, when it suddenly took its direction to the Rurick, and in the same moment threw me down senseless. The violent pain which I felt on recovering was heightened by the melancholy sight of my ship, whose fate seemed inevitable, if the hurricane should rage another hour, for not a corner of it had escaped the ravages of the furious billow." But, besides breaking the leg of one of the sailors and throwing a subaltern officer into the sea, the "gigantic wave" dashed the lieutenant himself on a sharp corner, whereby his breast was so seriously injured that he was obliged to remain in bed several days.

Longitude from Greenwich

Notwithstanding these disasters, the Rurick reached Oonalaska on the 24th in safety, though the commander thinks it proper to say, "I would advise nobody to visit this ocean so early in the year, for the storms are fright-

* Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea, vol. ii. p. 36.

Surely he, Kotzebue would not take his longitude from our Greenwich!

ful." After obtaining supplies and repairs, as well as an addition of fifteen natives to his crew, he proceeded to the northward, and on the 10th July came in sight of St Lawrence Island. Here he found that the ice had just left the shores of this dreary settlement; and concluding that the sea would not be navigable till near the end of the month, his hope of ultimate success became very faint. The accident sustained during the gale seems to have depressed his spirits while it weakened his body; and observing as he advanced that firm ice extended as far as the eye could reach, covering the whole surface of the deep, he resolved to lay aside all farther attempt at discovery and return to a more temperate climate. "My melancholy situation, which had daily grown worse since we left Oonalaska, received here the last blow. The cold air so affected my lungs that I lost my breath, and at last spasms in the chest, faintings, and spitting of blood ensued. I now for the first time perceived that my situation was worse than I could hitherto believe; and the physician seriously declared to me that I could not remain near the ice. It cost me a long and severe contest; more than once I resolved to brave death, and accomplish my undertaking; but when I reflected that we had a difficult voyage to our own country still before us, and perhaps the preservation of the Rurick, and the lives of my companions depended on mine, I then felt that I must suppress my ambition. The only thing which supported me in this contest was the assurance of having strictly fulfilled my duty. I signified to the crew in writing that my ill health obliged me to return to Oonalaska. The moment I signed the paper was the most painful in my life, for with this stroke of the pen I gave up the ardent and long-cherished wish of my heart."*

The reasons assigned by Kotzebue for relinquishing a voyage which, in regard to its main object, was entirely

* Kotzebue's Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea, vol. ii. pp. 176, 177.

unsuccessful, would not perhaps have been esteemed satisfactory on board an English ship, so long as another officer survived qualified to assume the command. Nor has his conduct passed unimpeached by those who take an interest in northern discovery, on the ground of his losing so much of the former season, when so fair an opportunity presented itself for passing Icy Cape and penetrating towards the strait which checked the progress of Captain Parry. Yielding to the pressure of disease and perhaps the wishes of his people, the Russian commander finally proceeded to the Radack chain, whence he made his way to St Helena, and finally to the Baltic. At five in the morning on the 3d June, he came in sight of the Azores, took his course for the English Channel, and on the 16th cast anchor at Portsmouth. He went to London, where he had the honour of being introduced to the Prince Regent and the Archduke Nicolai Pawlowitch. When in the British metropolis he thought it his duty to leave with the inventor several boxes of patent meat, as a proof how well it had kept, and "to whom all navigators indisputably owe their gratitude." Leaving England on the 30th, he sailed for Copenhagen; and on the 23d July, "with an indescribable emotion, saw Revel again, which I had quitted three years before, full of pleasing expectation, though not without some fear. Fortune favoured my voyage; and my joy at the sight of my beloved native city expressed itself in an ejaculation of thanksgiving to heaven."*

The favour for which he here expresses his thanksgiving, farther than that it implied preservation among many dangers, must be considered somewhat ambiguous. It is true that he discovered, or rather partially explored, the Sound which bears his name, and also that he has made navigators much better acquainted than they formerly were with the interesting series of islets which he visited on his first return from the Aleutian archipelago; but, nevertheless, comparing what he actually

* Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea, vol. ii. pp. 286, 287.

accomplished with what he undertook, it cannot be said that he gained any triumph over the stern nature which presides in the arctic regions, or brought to light any mysteries theretofore concealed.

It is well known that after the lapse of a few years he was appointed by the Emperor Alexander to the command of a ship named the Predpriatie, or Enterprise. She had been at first destined for a voyage purely scientific, but circumstances occurred which rendered it necessary to change the object of the expedition; and Kotzebue was accordingly ordered to receive at Cronstadt a cargo of various commodities for Kamtschatka, and to proceed from the latter place to the north-western coast of America, in order to protect the Russian Company established there from the smugglers who in great numbers frequented those shores. On that station he was commanded to remain one year, when, being relieved by another officer, he was to return to the Baltic; but the course both outwards and back to Europe was left entirely to his own discretion.

On the 28th July 1823, the Enterprise, which may be described as a small frigate carrying twenty-six guns, left the roads of Cronstadt. In due time she reached Teneriffe, where her commander was destined to encounter an unexpected disappointment. Struck with the beauty of the scenery, he was already planning parties to visit the neighbourhood of the town and climb the Peak, when, just as he was preparing to anchor, a ball from the fortress plunged into the water not far from his ship. At the same time he perceived that all was bustle on the walls; the cannons were pointed, the matches lighted, and plenty of Spanish shot was ready for his reception. His government being at peace with the court of Madrid, such conduct appeared quite unintelligible; but as he had no desire for battle, he contented himself with retiring beyond the reach of the guns, in the hope that some explanation would be rendered. After waiting a considerable time in vain, and perceiving the continuance of warlike preparations on

the ramparts, he was compelled to renounce all hope of seeing the country and of enjoying the magnificent view which rewards the toil of ascending the mountain. "Whatever might be their motive," he justly observes, "it was an inconsiderate action on the part of the garrison to insult the Russian flag; and even if they mistook us for enemies, it was silly to be afraid of a single ship, considering that the renowned Nelson with an English fleet had found the fortifications impregnable."

The account of Brazil is lively and entertaining. On the 19th November, the celebration of a national festival attracted the captain to Rio Janeiro, where the royal family and official dignitaries had previously assembled. It was the anniversary of the coronation of their majesties the emperor and empress, as well as of the institution of the Order of the Southern Cross. Scarcely had the day dawned when the thunder of cannon from the batteries and ships recalled the remembrance of those happy events which had taken place only the preceding year. The streets were filled with people; soldiers in their dress-regimentals hastened to their various places of rendezvous; and the negroes, released from labour, formed a part of the cheerful throng. At eleven, the sovereigns, in a magnificent carriage drawn by eight horses, and escorted by a troop of guards in handsome uniforms, arrived at the principal church. At some distance from the door the two great personages alighted, and entered the sacred edifice in procession, surrounded by the knights of the Austral Cross. Being met by the bishop and the whole of the clergy, they were conducted with great pomp to a throne at the right side of the altar, which the emperor ascended, while his consort took her place in a pew on the left. After the service, performed by a good choir to excellent music, the prelate came forward and delivered a very long discourse descriptive of the pious virtues of Don Pedro, whom he was pleased to compare to Peter the Great of Russia.

It is customary in the capital of Brazil to pay visits in the theatre, which are indeed more highly prized than

Pourquoi n'a-t-il pas osé dire tout à la fois que le Commandant Espagnol était coiffé d'un Mélange d'Oreilles d'Ane, et de crête de Coq.? —

those made at their houses. The pit presented a very singular appearance, owing to the assemblage of various complexions, including every shade from black to white, although the darker tints had greatly the predominance. Nor was the distinction of manners among the different portions of the audience less striking. No theatre in Europe could boast of more decorum and politeness than prevails there in the boxes; but the noisy and coarse vulgarity of the pit would not be tolerated in a more refined nation. During the performance the emperor gave audience in his box to many of his subjects, the interview always beginning with the homage of kissing hands on the bended knee.

The voyage round Cape Horn, the residence at Chili, the examination of Pitcairn Island, the sojourn at Otaheite, and the survey of the Dangerous Archipelago and Navigators' Islands, present nothing worthy of notice. On the 28th April 1824, Kotzebue once more reached the Radack chain after an absence of eight years. He now seems to have learned that the sovereign of all these islets was named Lamari; that the chiefs of the particular groups are subordinate to him; and that these in their turn exercise authority over the leaders of the several families or tribes. The inhabitants were regarded by him as among the best of nature's children, and excelling in gentleness all the other natives of the South Sea, the Otaheitans not excepted. It is not surprising therefore that he expected a happy meeting with his former friends; and it was one, he assures his readers, "on which the heavens themselves appeared to smile." It was an uncommonly fine day, and a favourable breeze carried the Enterprise quickly towards land. From the deck he soon descried, on the island of Otdia, the airy groves of palms which enclose the residence of Rarick, under whose shades he had so often reposed. He knew his tried friends too well not to know what was passing in their minds; for though he had promised to visit them, they could not fail to observe that the frigate which now approached was not rigged like the

two-masted brig which he formerly commanded. Uncertain how they might be treated by the strangers who were now steering towards their bay, the women and children fled into the interior, and all the canoes were put in motion to convey their goods to some place of safety. The most courageous of the men advanced armed with spears, displaying their valour while the danger was yet remote. But they soon recognised their former acquaintance, who by his voice and gestures encouraged them to approach; they burst into the wildest accents of joy; numbers hurried to the strand, while others rushed into the water to embrace him. Four islanders lifted him from the boat, and carried him ashore; mats were procured for the officers to sit on, and the females brought baskets of flowers to decorate them with garlands. The captain had the satisfaction to find that his endeavours for the welfare of this simple people had not altogether failed of success. The animals and plants with which he had enriched their islands were reported to be in a thriving state; the former had propagated, the latter were healthy and flourishing. Swine and goats already formed part of their provisions at their periodical festivals; and the time appeared to be fast approaching when it would be no longer necessary to destroy the third or fourth child of every marriage, in order to prevent the hazard of famine. The vine alone had failed; it had been allowed to wither away, but not till, from the extreme fruitfulness of the soil, its tendrils had reached the tops of the highest trees.

From Radack and the adjoining groups, Kotzebue proceeded to the American coast, and finally assumed the station to which he was appointed at New Archangel, an island in Norfolk Sound, called by the natives Sitchachan. The recess just mentioned, closely associated with the researches and discoveries of the most celebrated of our navigators, is still known in the Russian charts as Sitka Bay, and is the principal establishment of the American Company, who formed their settlement there in the year 1804. The island, which

is separated from the mainland by a narrow inlet of the sea, extends over three degrees and a half of latitude. In point of fact, it consists of three portions, divided by channels so very small and intricate as readily to escape notice, and hence the conclusion generally received that New Archangel consists of one portion of unbroken land. The harbour, it is asserted, is so well defended by nature as to need no assistance from art.

The history of Russian occupation is darkened by some of those painful recollections which attach to most of the European colonies among a barbarous people. A person named Baronof long superintended the Company's concerns, who, being of a bold enterprising character, was considered well suited to the task of contending with a fierce people. He seemed to take pleasure in the occupation; and although the conquest of the Sitkaens was not as easy as that of the more timid Aleutians and Kodiacks, he finally succeeded in accomplishing it. Being supplied with firearms by the traders of the United States, they maintained an obstinate struggle against the invaders; but after various turns of fortune, the military chief obtained a decisive victory, which seemed to place the greater part of their territory at his command. Proceeding with his settlement, he built some dwelling-houses, erected military defences, and used all practicable means for gaining the affections of the natives, or for rendering their hostility unavailing. It soon appeared that the savages, though so far subdued as to be unable to keep the field, had not relinquished all hope of revenge, and even of recovering their lost inheritance. One night, accordingly, when the garrison left by the governor believed themselves to be in perfect safety, a large body of them seized the intrenchments, entered without encountering any serious opposition, and murdered, with the utmost ferocity, every individual whom they found within the rampart. Only a few Aleutians escaped, who owed their lives to the circumstance that

they were at sea engaged in fishing, and who fled to Kodiack, carrying with them the intelligence that the Russian settlement was annihilated.

This catastrophe occurred at the period when Krusenstern was cruising in those parts, and who, the reader will remember, sent the Neva, one of his ships, to the American coast, to make a purchase of furs for the Chinese market. Baronof seized the opportunity in order to recover his colony, and inflict due punishment on the leaders of the revolt. No sooner did the natives hear of his return at the head of a force which they could not effectually resist, than they gave way to their fears, refrained from opposing his landing, and retired in great haste to their fortification, consisting of a species of palisade formed of strong beams so closely set as only to allow a sufficient opening for firing their muskets, with which they were amply supplied. This wooden fortress, containing about three hundred fighting men with their families, held out several days, and would have maintained a longer resistance, had not the heavy guns of the Neva effected a breach which rendered the place quite untenable. The besieged surrendered at discretion, and gave the sons of their chiefs as hostages for their continued submission. But confidence was not thereby fully established on either side. The vanquished, still thirsting for revenge, omitted no opportunity to gratify it, particularly by secret attacks and stratagems; and this manner of warfare they carried to such an extent, that the Russians, unless well armed and in considerable numbers, could not venture beyond the shelter of their fortress without the most imminent danger of being assassinated. With the view of securing the repose of the colonists, Baronof, from this period, continued to reside in Archangel, and the fur-trade for a time proved extremely advantageous to the Company. The various hunters, however, allowed their avarice to defeat its own object: the sea-otter, pursued on all hands, soon became very scarce; and after a brief space,

accordingly, the numbers obtained barely sufficed to cover the expenses of maintaining such a force as was necessary to protect the settlers against the wiles of the savages. It was, therefore, resolved to abandon the establishment at New Archangel, and to make Kodiack the centre of Russian commerce on the north-western shores of America.

The climate of Sitka is not so severe as might be apprehended from its high latitude. The cold, which even in the middle of winter is not excessive, does not last long; but it is added that there is not perhaps a spot in the world where so much rain falls. The forests, consisting principally of fir and beech, are at once lofty and thick; some of the trees being a hundred and sixty feet in height, and from six to seven in diameter. From these noble trunks the natives form their large canoes, which, in some instances, carry twenty-five or thirty men. Wild and unfruitful as the country appears, the soil is rich, so that its indigenous plants, of which indeed there is no great variety, attain a very large growth. The sea near the coast abounds in fish, and even in the larger mammalia, whales, seals, and other species. It is remarkable that the beautiful white-headed eagle, and several varieties of humming-birds, the natives of warm climates, should have migrated so far north, and habituated themselves to a sky so different from the one to which their tribes are accustomed. But the native birds are few.

On his renewed visit to California, the captain of the Enterprise did not find any improvement at the Spanish presidios, either in the condition of the poor converts or in the policy of those who undertake to rule them. In the spirit of La Perouse, he declares that the christian Indians are not more happily circumstanced than negro slaves. They pass their lives in prayer and in toiling for the monks, without having any property of their own. Thrice a-day they are compelled to attend church, to hear a mass in the Latin language; the rest of their time is spent in cultivating the fields and gardens with

clumsy implements; and in the evening they are locked up in crowded barracks, which, unboarded and without windows, resemble stalls for cattle rather than habitations for human beings.*

In this way were the missionaries and the military who depended upon them living quietly enough in California when the other Spanish colonies threw off their allegiance to the mother country. The insurrection having spread as far as Mexico, they were invited by the new governments, under advantageous conditions, to make common cause with them; but they remained true to their king. Nor was their fidelity shaken by the total neglect of the cabinet of Madrid, who, for many years, appeared to have forgotten their very existence, and had not even troubled themselves to make the ordinary remittances for the pay of the soldiers or the support of the teachers. Still their loyalty continued firm, and so implicit was their obedience, that they hesitated not to comply with the command which enjoined them to close their ports against all foreign vessels; and as the republicans were considered aliens, and no ships arrived from Spain, the missionaries, not less than the several garrisons, began to feel the want of many comforts to which they had been long accustomed. Even the instruments of agriculture and of other kinds of labour were no longer to be had; and thus the very source of all their acquisitions was threatened with extinction. The growing discontent at length appeared in the form of a mutiny, which was indeed speedily suppressed by the horsemen, who had hitherto identified their own interests with those of the ecclesiastics. But, elated by victory over the natives, these warriors soon disregarded all the wishes of the ghostly fathers, whose helplessness was now apparent, and declared themselves the rulers of the province which the royal

* A New Voyage round the World in the Years 1823, 24, 25, and 26. By Otto von Kotzebue, Post Captain in the Russian Imperial Navy, vol. ii. p. 84.

government had so long abandoned to its fate. Republics sprang up in various parts of California; and one of the first effects of this revolution appeared in the opening of their ports to all mercantile nations in both hemispheres of the globe.*

It was one of the duties confided to Otto von Kotzebue to establish in the neighbourhood of California a station for the Russian American Company. The spot selected by him, or indicated by his employers, was about eighty miles north of St Francisco; and having obtained from the governor a military escort and a body of guides, he commenced his journey thither, accompanied by some of his officers, two seamen, and a few dragoons. The expedition, indeed, appears to have been accomplished partly by land and partly by water; but the narrative is so indistinctly expressed, that it is not easy to determine when the author is on board and when he follows in the train of his soldiers. After some days spent in toil and speculation, he perceived from the summit of a high hill the fortress of Ross, a small castle built for the defence of the settlement. It is placed on the seashore in latitude 38° 33′ north, and was erected in the year 1812 with the consent of the natives, who even furnished materials for the completion of the buildings. The garrison in 1825 consisted of a hundred and thirty men, of whom only a small number were Russians, the main body being drawn from the Aleutian Islands. It is hardly necessary to mention that the purpose contemplated by the Company was the extension of their trade in furs, the sea-otter being more frequently caught along the Californian coast than in any other quarter; and the Spaniards, who did not hunt that animal, willingly took a small compensation for consenting to acquiesce in the views of the Petersburg merchants.

At first the members of the several missions lived on the best terms with the settlers, and even provided them

* Kotzebue's New Voyage, vol. ii. p. 96.

with horses, oxen, and sheep; but they no sooner remarked that, notwithstanding the inferiority of soil and climate, the new establishment was rapidly surpassing all theirs in prosperity and influence, than envy and apprehension took possession of their minds. They then required that the emporium at Ross as well as its stronghold should be abandoned; asserting that their rights of dominion extended northward to the verge of the Icy Sea, and threatening to support their claims by force of arms. A little determination on the part of the governor prevented the threatened rupture from involving the country in actual war. But, in order that the traders might not stretch their claims to the northern shore of the Bay of St Francisco, the Spaniards immediately founded the presidios of St Gabriel and St Salona. Kotzebue remarks that "it is a great pity we were not beforehand with them: the advantages of possessing this beautiful bay are incalculable, especially as we have no harbour but the bad one of Bodega or Port Romanzow." The climate at Ross is mild, and it is blest with an abundance of the finest wood for building. The sea provides it with the most delicious fish, the land with an inexhaustible quantity of the best kinds of game; and notwithstanding the want of a good haven, the northern settlements might easily find in this a plentiful magazine for the supply of all their wants.

The account contained in these volumes of the present state of society in the Sandwich Islands, bears so much the aspect of caricature, that the reader must feel both his belief and his taste somewhat rudely assailed. In regard to the ambitious views of certain missionaries, the author's opinions are not singular, though his prejudices on the subject of religion are too strong to justify a complete acquiescence in his conclusions. One meddles, it is said, in all the affairs of government, and makes Kakumanna, and even sometimes Karemaku, the instrument of his will; pays particular attention to commercial concerns, in which he appears to take great interest; and seems to have quite forgotten his original

situation, and the object of his residence in the islands, finding the avocations of a ruler more to his taste than those of a preacher. This would be excusable, if his talents were of a nature to contribute to the instruction and happiness of the people. But the fact, says the captain, is widely different; and one cannot see without deep regret the spiritual and temporal weal of a generous people committed to the guidance of an unenlightened enthusiast, whose ill-directed zeal and foolish designs are inimical to their true interests. It is not denied that education, so far at least as it comprehends reading and writing, is making some progress, and that the great principles of Christianity are sedulously taught, in season and out of season. When the Russian commander was introduced to Nomahanna, the widow of the great Tamehameha, he found that the very stairs were occupied, from the bottom to the door of the queen's apartments, by children, adults, and even old people, who, under her majesty's own superintendence, were reading from spelling-books, and writing on slates. The governor himself had a spelling-book in one hand, and in the other an ornamented little instrument made of bone, which he used for pointing to the letters. Some of the more elderly persons appeared to have joined the assembly rather for the sake of example than from a desire to learn, as they were studying, with an affectation of extreme diligence, books held upside down. The sovereign, there is reason to fear, enforces attention to letters in a manner which savours not a little of absolute despotism. An old man of seventy, who rented a piece of land belonging to her, had always paid his taxes with regularity; but hoping the distance at which he lived and his very advanced age would secure to him a dispensation from attending school and chapel, he was very frequently absent. For this neglect the queen expelled him from his house and little farm. In order to pacify her, or apologize for his misconduct, he solicited admittance to her presence, when he implored compassion for his destitute condition, and, above

all, represented to her the impossibility of learning to read at his time of life. His most pathetic entreaties and reasonings were altogether in vain. She replied with an angry gesture, "if you will not learn to read, you may go and drown yourself."*

After leaving the Sandwich Islands, the lively captain, who found amusement himself, and wishes to communicate it to his readers, sailed towards the Pescadores, in the neighbourhood of which he ascertained the position of some shoals or incipient groups, not generally known to navigators. He subsequently steered for the Ladrones and Philippines, of which he gives a rather meagre account; and finally set sail in a south-western direction, in order to double the Cape of Good Hope, touch at St Helena, and restore himself a second time to his native land, which he joyfully reached on the 10th July 1826. "If," says he, in conclusion, "my readers have by this time become sufficiently acquainted with me to interest themselves in my affairs, they will not learn with indifference that my most gracious sovereign the emperor has honoured me by the most condescending testimonials of his satisfaction; and that, after our long separation, I had the gratification to find my wife and children well and happy."

It may be held sufficient to allude to the voyage of Bellingshausen, performed in the three years succeeding 1819, because, though the zeal of that officer was worthy of much praise, his track deviated very little from the line usually followed in the South Sea, and was not productive of any remarkable results. His labours were spent chiefly in the waters between the coast of Australia and the antarctic circle, where he encountered many difficulties, and was exposed to many dangers. The only discovery to which he lays claim is in the neighbourhood of the islands to which Bougainville annexed the epithet Dangerous, and is confined to a small group distinguished in his chart as the Archipelago of Alexander, the emperor of Russia.

* A New Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 261.

The inhabitants are described by him as the most savage and ferocious he had ever seen; they refused to have any communication with him; and in order to deter his people from landing they set fire to their forests. So little were they accustomed to Europeans or their means of assault, that, when the Russians discharged a few muskets in the air, with the view of intimidating them, they procured water in order to extinguish the flames with which they seemed to imagine it was meant to destroy their persons or property.

Bellingshausen freely confesses that he did not succeed in discovering any continent in the polar sea,—that celebrated "Terra Australis" which had so fruitlessly engaged the attention of philosophers at home, and exhausted the skill of the most patient navigators, amidst fogs, floating ice, and incessant tempests. He assures his countrymen that he actually touched the confines of eternal frost, beyond which no one will ever be permitted to pass. That his voyage was not entirely useless he endeavours to prove by reminding them that he had extended the sphere of geographical knowledge by the addition of thirty new islands; and, besides many important observations in several branches of science, he had enriched the museums by presenting to them some of the rarest productions in the three kingdoms of nature.*

Lutké, who succeeded the commander now named, spent in like manner three years at sea, and with a degree of success somewhat equivalent. In September 1826, the corvettes Seniavine and Moller left Cronstadt, the latter having been placed under the direction of Captain Stanioukovitch; but as his movements do not fall under the description of a circumnavigation of the

* Bibliothèque Universelle des Voyages, &c., tome xxi. p. 431. "Un précis du voyage de découvertes du gouvernement Russe, en 1819, 1820, et 1821, par le Capitaine Bellingshausen, dans l'océan Pacifique et les mers Australes, fut redigé par M. le professeur Simonof, dans une série de lettres addressées au Baron de Zach, et il fut recueilli par le Journal des Voyages qui se publiait alors."

globe, we shall confine our notice to the proceedings of the former, which was really fitted out for the purposes of discovery.

After touching at Teneriffe and Rio Janeiro, rounding Cape Horn, and calling at Conception and Valparaiso, Lutké crossed the equator in long. 128° west of Greenwich, proceeding in a northerly course. On the 23d June 1827, he came in sight of Mount Edgecumbe, an extinct volcano, rising nearly three thousand feet above the sea, which, it is well known, marks the entrance into Norfolk Sound, now denominated Sitka Bay by the Russians. Next morning he anchored at New Archangel, the residence of the governor, as already mentioned, whose jurisdiction extends over all the colonies in that quarter, including the Aleutian and Kurile Islands. The population of these settlements was estimated by the chief officer of the Seniavine at eight thousand seven hundred; more than a half belonging to the two groups which stud the ocean between Kamtschatka and the American shore. In the course of thirty years the inhabitants in both had diminished considerably, owing either to the tyrannical conduct of the fur traders, or to a compulsory migration to the bays and creeks of the eastern continent. At the date of Lutké's visit, the colony founded by Baronof, as narrated by Kotzebue, did not contain more than eight hundred persons, including those from the several islands in the vicinity. The creoles, offspring of a Russian father and Aleutian mother, were found, a few years later, to amount to about a thousand, and are said to be a well-formed active race of men. Shipbuilding is evidently in a prosperous condition; and an active trade in provisions is carried on with Ochotsk, California, and the Sandwich Islands.*

* Voyage autour du Monde, exécuté par ordre de sa Majesté l'Empereur Nicolas Premier, sur la Corvette Le Seniavine, dans les Ans 1826, 1827, 1828, et 1829. Par Frederic Lutké, Capitaine de Vaisseau, Aide-de-camp de S. M. l'Empereur, Commandant de l'Expédition. Tome i. p. 109.

The captain considers at some length the reasons which weighed with the governor when he formed the resolution to leave the Bay of Sitka and transfer the settlement to Kodiack or Cook's River. The hostility of the natives, called Kaloches, was perhaps the principal motive, for he had despaired either of conquering their animosity or of gaining their good will; but such obstacles, Lutké observes, have been met with in the commencement of all such undertakings, and gradually overcome by suitable management. The resentment of the savages will not prove eternal; and even in the year 1827, a brief space after Baronof seemed ready to yield to despair, a chief required from the colonists at New Archangel the means of educating his people, and instructing them in the christian religion. Whatever foundation the navigator may have had for the conclusions he enforces, there is no doubt that he inquired more carefully into the temper and condition of the Kaloches than any former commander who had served on the same station.

In the beginning of August he sailed for Oonalaska; and at Iloaloak he found a very intelligent clergyman, the Rev. John Veniaminoff, who had resided there many years. This zealous pastor had translated into the Aleutian language the catechism of the Greek Church, which was printed at St Petersburg, and by perseverance in his evangelical labours had converted many of the natives, all of whom, indeed, avow an open profession of Christianity. In other respects, too, since the days when they were first made known to the civilized world by the great Cook, they have made a rapid advance in the arts and conveniences of improved life. Some of their children go regularly to school; a privilege, however, which seems to be still confined to one sex. Perhaps the enlargement of mind produced by education is considered unnecessary to girls, whose prospects are not permitted to rise above domestic drudgery, and those severer toils incident to a state of existence so little in

advance of the rudest in which society has ever been found to exist.

Directing her course to the north-west, the Seniavine reached the islands of Pribyloff and St Matthew. A lovely morning, on the first day of September, disclosed a magnificent panorama of all the land by which she was surrounded. To the eastward, at the distance of sixty-five miles, was seen Oonimak with its enormous volcanoes; one of them, Chicheldinsk, the form of which is that of a regular cone, appeared entirely isolated, while a whitish smoke rose from its summit, which was ascertained to be more than eight thousand feet above the level of the waves. The crater of Makouchinsk, on Oonalaska, the flattened top of which has only some sharp peaks at its western end, does not offer so striking an aspect as the other. Smoke rose from a lofty table-land covered with snow, the elevation of which could not be less than five thousand feet. This group, including St George and St Paul, was discovered in 1786 by a pilot whose name was Pribyloff, which still attaches to the islands. St Matthew was so designed by Lieutenant Sindt in 1766, and afterwards called Gore Island by Captain Cook in the year 1778, who accurately determined its position. To no one besides the geologist and the other lovers of natural science, do these groups present any features in the slightest degree interesting, for the huge masses of granite, micaceous schist, and quartz, receive no covering from any species of timber. Every where the most distinct traces of volcanic action can be pointed out; and the internal fires to which those dreary abodes owe their existence, continue to manifest their power in the most terrific form, shaking the whole archipelago and casting the glare of their sulphureous flames over the surface of the wild ocean by which they are surrounded.

The approach of autumn warned Lutké that he must no longer keep the sea in so high a latitude, where darkness combines with fierce winds to render navigation at once dangerous and unavailing. He accordingly

proceeded to the coast of Asia, and, in the principal harbour of Kamtschatka, made preparations for a voyage to the Spanish settlements in the great Indian archipelago. On the first day of November, he left the port of St Peter and St Paul with the view of visiting the Caroline group; and in his course thither, he passed over the position assigned in the American charts to the island of Colunas, spending a whole day in the parallel of lat. 28° 9′ north in search of it, but altogether in vain. With an equal want of success did he seek for Dexter Island and St Bartholomew; a result which ought to excite no surprise, considering how small an error in point of longitude, the element least easily determined, must vitiate the calculation of the acutest seamen.

Before the circumnavigation of Duperrey in the Coquille, the great Caroline range was very imperfectly known to the mariners even of the most enlightened countries of Europe. Spreading over six degrees of latitude, or more than four hundred miles, it extends through thirty degrees of longitude, being not less than six hundred leagues. The French captain ran through the whole of it from Pulo Anna on the west to Ualan on the east; in the course of which survey he made himself acquainted with several small islands theretofore unclassed, and supplied many new facts regarding those already known. But, notwithstanding his great diligence, he left unexplored an ample field for the captain of the Seniavine; who, following a more regular plan, visited separately every group, and every island composing it, thereby obtaining a complete acquaintance with their geographical position. He also added to our stock of information relative to the customs and manners of the inhabitants; a short vocabulary of their language; and also an account of the structure and natural history of the principal members of the archipelago, derived from the observations of the several learned men who accompanied the expedition.

Ualan, already mentioned, is twenty-four miles in circumference; a valley stretching from east to west

between two ranges of mountains divides the island into two unequal parts. On the northern section rises Morne Buache, more than eighteen hundred feet above the sea; and to the southward is seen Mount Crozer, of which the elevation is somewhat greater. With the exception of the peaks belonging to these hills, the whole land, from the seashore to the bottom of the ancient craters, is covered with wood, including various climbing plants; and streams of water are seen flowing in all directions. The inhabitants, who, notwithstanding the moisture of their climate, appear to enjoy good health, possess fine figures, and are hospitable to strangers, while they are gentle and forbearing towards one another. The colour of the skin in either sex is chestnut; both anoint their body with oil, and indulge their taste in the most fantastic modes of tattooing; the females bore the lobes of their ears, inserting in the apertures large bouquets of flowers or odoriferous herbs; but in other respects their habits are far removed from that cleanliness and taste which such a usage might seem to indicate.

Not understanding their language, the captain could not attain to a full comprehension of their religious notions. It was imagined that they venerate a deity named Sitel-mazuenziap, who is supposed to be a deified chieftain, with two wives and four children; but neither temples, morais, nor idols are erected to do honour to his exploits or to propitiate his power. In one corner of every dwelling is placed a wand, from four to five feet long, as a sort of household god, to whom offerings are made; and occasionally ceremonies were observed which were considered to bear some affinity to the belief in supernatural beings, and to express an acknowledgment that the course of human affairs is regulated or disturbed by their interposition.*

* Nowhere is there to be found a more minute, and, it may be added, a more accurate account of the aborigines of any country than is given by Lutké of the people of Ualan. "L'ile d'Ualan peut servir de très-bonne relâche, et principalement aux bâtiments baleiniers qui font la pêche dans ses parages, et aux navires allant

In the beginning of January 1828, the Seniavine crossed the magnetic equator in lat. 4° 7′ N. and long. 162° 57′ E. Some days were spent in searching for islands marked in the charts of Arrowsmith and Krusenstern, but without success; another proof of the difficulty of ascertaining recent discoveries from a reference to their geographical position in the works of even the most accurate navigators. To compensate for this disappointment a triumph awaited Lutké and his officers. At daylight on the 14th, much to their surprise, they discovered a large island close a-head; which, although of considerable elevation, and lying very near the tracks of Thompson, Duperrey, and several other voyagers, had never been noticed. It is now known as the chain which bears the name of the Seniavine; consisting of three groups, and extending about twenty-four miles from north to south, and not less than thirty miles from east to west. On the largest island is a mountain rising nearly three thousand feet above the sea, and visible at the distance of sixty-five miles.

The natives differ from those of Ualan, and approach more nearly to the Papuas; they are a small race of men, but fierce and resolute in action. Pouynipete, the largest island in the group, is nearly circular, and about fifty miles in circuit, being surrounded to the distance of two miles by a coral reef, within which there are numerous small islets. It is every where covered with verdure; and, though the houses along the coast are not many, it was inferred from the great fleet of canoes which crowded round the ship that the population could not be less than two thousand. The industry of Lutké was

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à la Chine par là route de l'est. Un port tranquille, un beau climat, un bon peuple, une abondance d'eau fraîche et de fruits, qui ne contribuent pas moins qu'une nourriture animale à restaurer les forces d'un équipage après une longu enavigation, lui donnent cet avantage." —Tome i. p. 398.

In a note prefixed to the first volume it is stated that "un nouveau calcul, avec des éléments corrigés, a donné pour la hauteur du Morne Buache deux mille dix-neuf pieds, et pour celle du Morne de Crozer dix-huit cent quatre-vingt-quatorze pieds, mesure Anglaise."

farther rewarded by the re-discovery of several small islands, the existence of which seems rather to have been conjectured than fully ascertained. It was at length found necessary that the Seniavine should repair to Guahan in the Marianne Archipelago to refit, and lay in a supply of provisions and water. Returning to the Carolines, the captain resumed his investigations with his wonted zeal and discrimination. He examined the group of Swede Islands, called Namourak; and afterwards extended his visit to some of the Pelew cluster first described by Wilson. In April, he made sail for Kamtschatka, with the intention of renewing his researches in the sea of Behring, and of extending, if possible, the knowledge of his countrymen respecting the several bays which lead from it into the depths of the American continent.

After a short stay at St Peter and St Paul, the corvette steered along the coast towards the north-east, fixing, with great precision, the position of the various capes and headlands. "On the morning of the 28th June," says the historian of the voyage, "we saw at once the volcanoes of Avatchinsky, Koriatsky, Joupanoff, and Kronotsky; the two former at eighty-two miles, the latter at sixty-eight miles' distance. Kronotsky, like Villioutchinsky, has the form of a regular cone, but seems rather less steep than the other. On its left is a flat-topped hill, and close to it a sharp peak, probably the same that were shaken at the time of the passage of the mountain Chevalutsk from its former to its present position. The altitude of Kronotsky, carefully taken, made the elevation of the extinct volcano ten thousand six hundred and ten feet above the level of the sea, or nearly the height of Etna. We saw it at the distance of ninety-four miles, and on our return at a hundred and twenty miles, very distinctly. Beyond Cape Kronotsky mountains began to show themselves towards the north, among which it was not difficult to recognise the gigantic volcano of Kamtschatskoi. At the distance of a hundred and four miles, it subtended

an angle of $50\frac{1}{4}°$. The measurement was very exactly made, and the result was that its height is 16,512 feet; its form being that of a cone slightly truncated."

In July, he examined the island of Karaghinsky, which, as well as the adjoining coast, had not been previously seen by any navigator except Sindt. Behring perceived only one point of it through a fog; and hence it is hardly necessary to remark that the outline given in the maps has no resemblance to nature. This island, which was inhabited in the middle of last century by upwards of a hundred Koriacks, is now quite abandoned to the sea-fowl and mammalia which frequent its coasts. At Cape Ilpinsky, in the parallel of sixty degrees, is the lowest and narrowest part of the isthmus, being about seventy miles broad, which forms the northern limit of the peninsula of Kamtschatka; and here the mountains lose themselves in small hills. From this point the Seniavine steered for Behring's Strait, and anchored in the Bay of St Lawrence, only thirty miles southward of East Cape, and in latitude 65° 36′, the highest point attained by this expedition. The account of the Tschukutzkoi is interesting, bearing upon it a freshness and an air of individuality in the delineations which secure the attention of the reader. After once more visiting Luçon and the archipelago of the Carolines, the commodore began his homeward voyage by the Cape of Good Hope and St Helena, where he met his colleague, the commander of the Moller. On the 6th September 1829, after an absence of three years and five days, he cast anchor in the roads of Cronstadt, where, receiving the honour of a visit from the emperor, he forthwith struck his flag.

1829

These voyages, it must be apparent, are chiefly valuable for the light they have thrown on the islands which line the Russian shores on either side of the ocean that divides the northern portions of Asia and America. Viewed in reference to geography, the main results accomplished by Lutké are the determination of the chief headlands on the eastern coast of Kamtschatka, of the country of the Koriaks and Tschuktchis, from the Bay

of Avatcha to the north-eastern promontory of the Asiatic continent; including the islets of St Matthew, Pribyloff, and some others in Behring's Sea. The discoveries in the Carolines, being more undefined, are less capable of appreciation. The Moller is said to have examined the chain of islands and reefs which extend northward from the Sandwich group,—a portion of the northern Pacific which has not been frequented either by the merchantman or the scientific navigator. Natural history acknowledges considerable benefactions at the hands of the learned persons who embarked in the Seniavine. Rich collections in botany, zoology, and mineralogy, brought from the various lands visited by that corvette, now adorn the museums of St Petersburg and Cronstadt. Nor were those experiments neglected of which the object is to determine the conformation and density of the earth in the several zones; the laws which regulate magnetic phenomena; and even the local influences which affect the barometer and thermometer.*

* Voyage autour du Monde, tome ii. p. 386. In reference to St Helena, where he found Bonaparte's bed-room occupied by horses, he says: "Mettant à profit le temps de l'absence de la Corvette le Moller, je fis ici une série d'expériences sur le pendule, d'après l'invitation pressante et avec la coopération de M. Johnson, directeur de l'observatoire qu'on fondait alors aux frais de la Compagnie des Indes."

CHAPTER VI.

Hall, Ruschenberger, and Fitzroy.

Lord Amherst's Embassy to China—Alceste and Lyra, commanded by Captains Maxwell and Hall—Remarks on China—Visit Islands on the Coast of Corea—Manners of the Natives—Language—Aversion to Intercourse—Friendly Disposition—Ships proceed to Loo-Choo—Benevolent Character of the Inhabitants—Description of the Country—Visit from Prince Shang Pung Fwee—Religion of Loo-Choo—Manufactures—Diseases—Ruschenberger sails in the Prussian Ship Peacock to Muscat and Siam—He arrives at Zanzibar—Account of the Country, its Commerce, and Inhabitants—Character of the Sultan—Commercial Treaty—Peacock proceeds to India and Siam—The Prince Momfanoi—Bankok the Capital of Siam—The Palace—Occupations of the Prince—His Intelligence and Curiosity—Prussians admitted to an Audience—Delineation of the Sovereign and his Attendants—Commercial Arrangements—Departure for China—Arrival at Sandwich Islands—Remarks of Ruschenberger on the State of Society—Gradual Diminution of Inhabitants—Captains King and Stokes sent to Survey the Western Shores of South America in the Adventure and Beagle—Enter the Straits of Magellan—Death of Captain Stokes, and appointment of Fitzroy to the Beagle—Progress of Discovery—Four Natives brought to England—Presented at Court—Beagle recommissioned—Natives return Home—Beneficial changes in South America effected by English—Transactions at Otaheite—Keeling Islands, New Zealand, and Australia—Beagle arrives in England—Scientific Observations.

It may appear to some readers not a little doubtful whether Captain Hall ought to be considered in the light of a circumnavigator, because in no single voyage did he draw a girdle round the earth. But the ap-

parent objection will entirely vanish when it is called to mind that, at successive periods, he doubled the two great Capes, the southern point of America and of Africa; that he examined minutely both shores of the former continent; and that he has produced the best account yet in possession of the English reader, of the little-known borders of Corea, as well as of the interesting group of islands which bear the name of Loo-Choo. The French, accordingly, viewing his labours in connexion with the results now stated, have without hesitation classed him among those who have sailed round the globe, charged with the duty of making known its various features, inhabitants, and more interesting productions.

In the year 1816, the British government sent to China an embassy, at the head of which was Lord Amherst, who on the 9th February left England on board the Alceste, a frigate commanded by Captain Murray Maxwell, accompanied by an Indiaman which served as a store-ship, and by a small brig, the Lyra, committed to the charge of Captain Basil Hall. As the voyage itself contains little beyond the usual incidents without which the great ocean cannot be crossed, it will suffice to contemplate our countrymen as already landed near the mouth of the Pei-ho river in the Yellow Sea, which, as they stopped at Java, they did not reach till the middle of August. As the officers of the two men-of-war made no part of the political body who were destined for Pe-king, they soon made preparations for a cruise of discovery towards the east and north.

But before he accompanies them in their geographical researches, the reader will not be displeased to peruse a few remarks, illustrative of the manners of the singular people they were to leave, at least for a certain time. It is related by them that, in every village in China, however small, there was invariably a school, where both reading and writing were taught to boys: at none were any girls observed. Upon enter-

ing one, the master begged them to sit down. Every thing was remarkably neat and clean, and the room well ventilated; but the day being very hot, one of the children observing a lieutenant cooling himself with his hat, left his seat and presented him with his fan. Most of the women, it was observed, had unnaturally small feet, the well-known barbarism of the country; and prepared as the English visiters were to expect this remarkable deformity, the actual sight of it caused a deep feeling of disgust. They learned from an intelligent native that the age of four was the usual time for commencing the horrid ceremony of binding up the children's limbs; and he showed the manner in which it is done. The toes are forcibly bent under the sole of the foot, in which position they are confined by a silk band three inches broad, and two or three yards long. The same person added that he himself had four daughters, all of whom suffered so much on these occasions that he could not bear to hear their cries; and being unable to relieve them, still less to prevent the infliction of this vile mutilation, he was obliged to banish himself from home more than a month, when the season for thus tormenting one of his children was understood to have arrived. He bitterly lamented that they were not allowed to depart from any of the established customs of the empire. But nevertheless, at a distance from Canton, there does not appear that jealousy and apprehension of strangers which, near the great seat of trade, presents an almost insuperable bar to all intercourse with seafaring men. For example, the captain landed his instruments, measured a base, and surveyed the harbour, without encountering any opposition on the part of the natives, who suspected him neither of hostile intentions nor of superstitious practices. Some of the observations were made under the very walls of a mud fort, the defences of which consisted of two old matchlocks fixed as wall-pieces, and six warriors armed with bows and arrows; while the commander, a Tartar mandarin,

sat on the rampart, with his gilt button shining above his cap, equally delighted and surprised at the sight of the quicksilver in the artificial horizon.

On the first day of September the coast of Corea was seen towards the east, which proved to be three high islands, differing not a little in appearance from the Chinese shores which the expedition had just left. The inhabitants met in a body the crew of a boat who had ventured to land; forming, it is said, an odd assemblage, being of a deep copper colour, and of a forbidding and rather savage aspect. Some individuals, who seemed to be superior to the rest, were distinguished by a hat, the brim of which was nearly three feet in diameter, and the crown, which was about nine inches high, and scarcely large enough to admit the top of the head, was shaped like a sugar-loaf partially truncated. Their dress consisted of loose wide trousers, made of a coarse cloth composed of grass, and on their feet were neat straw sandals.

It was manifest that their chief desire was to get rid of their visiters as speedily as possible; and this they expressed in a manner too obvious to be mistaken. One man made known the general wish by holding up a piece of paper like a sail, and blowing upon it in the direction of the wind; at the same time pointing to the ships, thereby denoting that the breeze was fair and convenient for leaving the island. Bullocks and poultry were seen; but the owners would not exchange them for money, or for any thing indeed which our countrymen had to offer. They refused dollars even as a present, though they appeared to set some value on a wine-glass; the material being at once new and in their eyes more beautiful than any metal. One of them, indeed, who had accepted a tumbler, soon returned and insisted upon giving it back. It was remarked that these people had all a proud carriage, with an air of composure and indifference about them, which implied a total absence of curiosity, as also, perhaps, a certain consciousness of superiority, which could gain nothing from an inter-

course with foreigners. The group thus discovered bears the name of Sir James Hall, but it remains nearly as much unknown as it was when first approached by the Lyra and Alceste.*

Other islands were soon descried, which, however, appear to have been considered more interesting in a geological point of view than as the habitation of human beings. In this case the natives showed not the same reluctance to an interchange of good offices that was manifested by their neighbours in the archipelago just described. On approaching the shore, the captains observed a great bustle among the people on the beach, as well as in the boats at anchor near the village. Jumping into their small vessels, these last pulled off with the greatest expedition to meet the strangers, displaying numerous flags and streamers. One canoe was distinguished by a large blue umbrella, which being regarded by our leaders as a emblem of rank, they resolved to approach it, with the intention of paying their respects to the chiefs who might happen to be on board. On advancing closer they saw a fine patriarchal figure seated under the umbrella; a full white beard covered his breast and reached below his middle; while his robe or mantle, which was of blue silk and of immense size, flowed about him in a very magnificent manner. A sword was suspended from his waist by a small belt, and he held in his hand a slender black rod tipped with silver, about a foot and a half long, with a leather thong tied at one end, and a piece of black crape fastened to the other.

While the English officers were endeavouring to make themselves understood, the native boats began to form a circle round them; upon which, apprehending treachery, they prepared their arms and pushed off to a little distance. Perceiving this, the old gentleman looked about very innocently to discover the cause of their alarm;

* Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island, &c., by Captain Basil Hall, 4to, London, 1818, p. 7.

and, at length, being made aware by signs of the suspicion entertained by his new friends, he commanded all the little fleet to go to the other side. He then expressed a desire to go on board the Lyra, which lay nearer to the shore than the frigate; and when his boat was within ten yards of the brig, his people let go their anchor, and, throwing a rope to the sailors, drew alongside in a very seaman-like style. The chief was followed by a great number of his attendants; some of whom climbed up the rigging; others got on the poop; and a line of them was formed along the hammock netting from one end of the vessel to the other.

As the evening was fine, it was deemed most suitable to entertain the venerable man upon deck, and chairs were accordingly provided; but he made signs that he could not sit on such a seat, nor would he consent to use his mat, which had been brought on board by one of his servants. He seemed embarrassed and displeased, owing, it was afterwards supposed, to the publicity of the conference, though the one party did not comprehend a single word which was used by the other. Having at length placed himself on the mat, according to the manner of his country, he proceeded to give utterance to a speech with great gravity and composure, without appearing to be sensible that no part of it could be understood by those to whom it was addressed. When his discourse was concluded he paused for a reply, which was made with equal gravity and effect in the English tongue. He now discovered, not without manifest symptoms of impatience and disappointment, that his harangue had been pronounced to no purpose; and calling for his secretary, he immediately began to dictate a letter, in the hope that he should thereby reach the intellect of the foreigners. The scribe sat down before him with due formality, and having rubbed his cake of ink upon a stone, drawn forth his pen, and arranged a long roll of paper upon his knee, began the writing. The task being at length completed, partly from the directions of the chief, and partly from his own

ideas, as well as from the occasional suggestions of the other officials who stood by, the written part was then torn off from the scroll, and delivered by the aged ruler to the captain, in the utmost confidence of its being fully comprehended. His mortification and disappointment were extreme on perceiving that he had again overrated their acquirements.

The expectation of being understood through the medium of writing will not appear quite unreasonable when it is called to mind that, though in the eastern part of Asia the spoken languages are various, the signs by means of which thought and feeling are conveyed present only a very small difference. Thus, a native of China is unintelligible to a Corean or Japanese while he is speaking, but they mutually understand one another when their ideas are expressed in writing. The distinction may be thus explained. In Europe the workings of the mind are denoted by certain sounds, which are different in every kingdom; the natives of France being strangers to the tongues used in England and Germany, while the inhabitants of the latter countries are equally unacquainted with the dialects which are used southward of the Rhine or beyond the Pyrenees. These various enunciations are committed to paper by means of the alphabetical signs, which are only symbols of sound, and consequently a piece of composition, whether printed or written, is unintelligible to every one who is ignorant of the spoken language in which it happens to be expressed. The Chinese and their neighbours, on the contrary, have no alphabet,—no symbols of mere sound; and as their ideas are committed to writing at once without any reference to vocal language, their characters may therefore be called symbols of thought or even of reasoning. Now, as the same characters are used in all those regions to make known the same ideas, it is clear that their writings will be perfectly intelligible to one another, though their vernacular speech may be quite incomprehensible.

As a ready illustration of this symbolical language,

Captain Hall refers to the Roman numerals as used throughout all Europe. There is nothing in the figures 1, 2, 3, by which their pronunciation can be ascertained when presented to the eye; yet they communicate meaning independently of sound, and are perfectly intelligible to all the nations between the Ural Mountains and the Atlantic, and from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, though the names by which they are distinguished in each convey no import to any of the others. The knowledge of writing is supposed to be very generally diffused over all the countries using what is called the Chinese character; and as it is probable that none but the lowest vulgar are ignorant of it, the surprise of the Corean chief upon finding that the English could not read his paper is by no means unnatural. Such a case, it may be presumed, had never occurred before; and the effect which so novel an incident produced was at once amusing and instructive. At first he seemed to doubt the possibility that they could be so unlearned, and showed some symptoms of displeasure, as if an attempt were made to deceive him,—an impression, however, which did not long continue; for, perceiving that there was no affectation of ignorance, he gave way to astonishment, and looked at those around him with a feeling of surprise little complimentary to his visiters.*

That reluctance to have intercourse with foreigners which marks the character of the Chinese, seems to have extended itself to the Coreans; for, though the old man

* The chief made a second attempt, when formally presented to Captain M. Maxwell on board the Alceste. This gallant officer, upon receiving the billet from the secretary, called for paper, and wrote upon it in English "I do not understand one word that you say." The Corean, on receiving it, "examined the characters with great attention, and then made signs that it was wholly unintelligible, alternately looking at the paper and at Captain Maxwell with an inquiring air."

The paper dictated by the old man was afterwards translated at Canton by Mr Morrison, and was found to contain the following questions. "Persons—of what land—of what nation? On account of what business do ye come hither? In the ship are there any literary men who thoroughly understand, and can explain what is written?"

appeared quite happy on board the strange ships, he would not consent to the landing even of the principal officers. He resisted every proposal made by them for this purpose; and, finding the ordinary signs of disapprobation of no avail, he held his head down, and drew his hand across his throat, as if his life would be exacted as the penalty of acquiescence. Not imagining that such a result would follow their stepping ashore, a small party who accompanied him to the land debarked, and prepared themselves for a walk into the interior. The venerable patriarch now began to cry violently, and turning towards the village walked away, leaning his head on the shoulder of one of his people. As he went along, he not only sobbed and wept, but even at intervals bellowed aloud.

Endeavouring to pacify him, they sat down on the beach, making signs that he should return; upon which he not only complied with their request, but waited very patiently while they remonstrated on the unreasonableness of his conduct and his unaccountable behaviour to them in their peculiar circumstances. In reply to their pantomime, which he did not altogether fail to comprehend, he made a long speech, in the course of which the beheading sign was frequently repeated. It was remarked that he invariably held his hands towards his throat after he had gone through this motion, and appeared to wash his hands in his blood, probably in imitation of some ceremony used at executions. Whatever may have been its meaning, it seems very probable that some general instructions were in force along the whole of this coast by which the treatment of strangers was regulated. The promptitude with which the two ships were met at a place where, perhaps, no such vessels were ever seen before, and the pertinacity with which the landing of even a small body of men was opposed, seem to imply an extraordinary degree of vigilance and jealousy on the part of the government.

It was now resolved to prosecute the voyage to the southward; but just before the Alceste weighed anchor

the captain received a final visit from the aged chief, whose appearance is said to have been quite altered. His sprightliness and curiosity were all gone, and his easy unceremonious manner was exchanged for a cold stately civility. He would not accept any presents, but appeared much relieved by the unexpected kindness with which he was received; and before he went away, it was manifest that the apprehension under which he came on board had gradually given place to his wonted spirits. When looking over the books in the cabin, his attention was attracted by the appearance of a bible, which was immediately offered to him. He refused it, though so undecidedly that it was thought proper to repeat the benevolence; and being shown to him just as he was pushing off in his boat, he accepted the valuable boon with every appearance of gratitude, and took his leave in a very friendly manner. A painful uncertainty continues to hang over his fate; for it is almost impossible to resist the belief that, by holding intercourse with Europeans and permitting them to land, he had exposed himself to a fearful responsibility.

Proceeding to the southward along the coast of Corea, the navigators threaded their way, upwards of a hundred miles, amongst islands, which lie in immense clusters in every direction. They vary in size from a few furlongs in length to five or six miles. From the mast-head other groups were perceived, lying one behind another to the east and south, as far as the eye could reach. Frequently above a hundred of them were in sight from the deck at one moment, many of which appeared beautifully diversified with wood, and well cultivated in the valleys. But no aid could be derived from the charts put into the hands of pilots in those seas; none of the places at which the discoverers touched being within sixty miles of their true position. Only a few islands are noticed in any map, whereas the coast, for nearly seventy leagues, is completely studded with them, to the distance of fifteen or twenty miles from the mainland. A second attempt to establish an acquaintance

with the natives proved equally unsuccessful with the former; for, though no hostile spirit was at any time manifested by them, there every where appeared either an undefined jealousy or a deep apprehension of future evil. No wish was so strong or less unequivocally expressed as that of seeing the masters of two such ships steering their course to a distance from this peaceful strand. On the 10th September, accordingly, deterred by the difficulty they had experienced in communicating with the inhabitants, they got under weigh, and stood to the southward. By sunset they were clear of all the islands, and could just distinguish that of Quelpaert in the south-eastern quarter.

After sailing two days in the direction now mentioned, they found themselves on the coast of the Great Lieou Kieou, usually pronounced Loo-Choo. When seeking for a harbour, some of the natives in canoes pointed out the proper channel, indicating a point of land to the northward, and waving with their hands to go round it. Meantime a few went off to the Lyra, one of whom handed to the sailors a jar of water, and another a basket of boiled potatoes, without asking or seeming to wish for any recompense. They were indeed in all respects the most friendly people that had been met with in those seas. Their manners were gentle and respectful; they uncovered their heads when in the presence of the officers, bowed whenever they spoke to them, and when they received some rum from the gentlemen, they did not taste it until they had made an obeisance to every person on deck. Another canoe went near the Alceste; and a rope being thrown to the persons on board, they tied a fish to it and paddled away. "All this," says the narrator, "promised well, and was particularly grateful after the cold repulsive manners of the Coreans."*

But there soon appeared symptoms of the same spirit which had so much thwarted the intentions of the

* Account of a Voyage of Discovery, &c., p. 62.

discoverers in the Yellow Sea. There was manifested among all ranks a firm determination to prevent the foreigners from landing. An individual who seemed to possess some authority presented himself on board the Alceste, and forthwith requested that the captain would explain to him the reason of his coming to Lieou Kieou, and of his desire to enter their port. The interpreter was instructed to acquaint him that the ships, which had been a long time on the ocean, having suffered from bad weather, were greatly in want of repairs, which could not be effected except in a secure harbour. No doubt, indeed, any longer remained that, whether the islanders in the Chinese waters were independent or acknowledged the authority of the emperor, they had adopted the exclusive policy of Pe-king, and were solicitous to avoid all intercourse with the inhabitants of distant lands. Of their own sovereign or governor they always spoke in a very mysterious manner, as if it were not lawful to mention his name or refer to his authority. The chiefs alluded to him under the title of the "Great Man," without whose concurrence they could not do or promise any thing. Captain Maxwell was very curious to know who this great man might be, but they evaded all his inquiries. When he asked them where the king resided, and intimated his intention of waiting upon him, they expressed the strongest objection to such a course, declaring besides that it was quite impossible, as his majesty lived at the distance of a thousand miles. They did not seem aware of their inconsistency, when they undertook immediately afterwards to get an answer from court about pilots for the ships, in the course of a few hours. Perhaps the interpreter did not fully understand either party.

The people of Loo-Choo are much in advance of the Coreans in respect of sentiment and decorum, as well as in all the other attributes of civilisation. For example, the chiefs, during the conference, preserved a gravity suited to an important question of state policy, and,

though surrounded by objects at once new and striking, displayed not the slightest degree of curiosity. But no sooner was business over, and they were at liberty to walk about the ship, than they looked at every thing with the greatest attention, taking particular notice of the globes, books, and mirrors. Their manners were remarkably gentle and unassuming. They are intelligent and even inquisitive; but encouragement is necessary to induce them to come forward, being obviously restrained by the fear of being deemed intrusive. In regard to dress, too, they display a taste which is at once simple and graceful: it consists of a loose flowing robe, with very wide sleeves, tied round the middle by a broad rich belt or girdle of wrought silk, a yellow cylindrical cap, and a neat straw sandal over a short cotton boot or stocking. They all carry fans, which they stick in their girdles when not in use, and each person has a short tobacco pipe in a small bag, hanging also at the belt. The demeanour even of the lowest classes was genteel and becoming; their curiosity is great, but it never carries them beyond the bounds of good-breeding; their language also is even musical and in most cases easy to pronounce. Their hair, which is of a glossy black, is shaved from the crown of the head; the bare place being concealed by the locks on either side, which are gathered into a close knot over it. Their beards and mustaches, which are allowed to grow, are kept very neat and smooth. In stature the men are rather low, but are well formed, and have an easy graceful carriage which suits well with their flowing dress. Their colour cannot be pronounced either fixed or uniform, some being very dark and others nearly white, but, generally, it is of a tint resembling dark copper. This, it is said, is fully compensated by the sweetness and intelligence of their countenances, the placid expression of their fine eyes, and the beautiful regularity of their white teeth. "In deportment," adds Captain Hall, "they are modest, polite, timid, and

respectful, and, in short, appear to be a most interesting and amiable people."*

While negotiations were pending, one of the chiefs received a visit from Captain Maxwell and a few of his officers, which terminated to the complete satisfaction of both parties.

After the lapse of a certain period it was resolved to make search for a harbour to which a reference was frequently made by the people of Napakiang, the town near which the two ships had hitherto been moored. The Lyra was accordingly despatched on the 1st of October at daybreak to examine the coast ten or twelve leagues to the northward; a measure which did not fail to create much anxiety among the inhabitants, who, though apprehensive as to the effects of landing near their capital, had become so much attached to the English that they were unwilling to see them depart. Amongst the various arguments used to dissuade the seamen from going to the other end of the island, they asserted that it was in the possession of savages, from whom they might justly dread an unkind reception.

Notwithstanding these indications of regret or disapprobation the captain persevered, and his labours were rewarded by the discovery of a remarkable recess, to which was given the name of Port Melville. It was entered by a somewhat intricate channel of about a quarter of a mile in length, and at one place not two hundred yards wide; after passing which, the Lyra found herself in a circular basin of half a mile across, with deep water, and completely sheltered from all winds. On the western shore was seen a beautiful village almost hidden amongst trees, with a high range of hills behind it, richly wooded and stretching towards the south. The eastern shore was low and laid out in salt fields, with a few huts at various distances. At first sight, this basin did not appear to have any other

* Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the West Coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo Island, p. 71.

outlet besides the one by which it had been entered; but in rowing to its upper or southern side, Captain Hall found that it was joined by means of a narrow passage with another harbour still larger and if possible more beautiful than the first, for here the land is high on both sides, and richly wooded from top to bottom. Proceeding onwards through this second recess, which had all the appearance of an inland lake, he came to another outlet not more than a hundred yards in width, formed by cliffs rising abruptly out of the water to the height of a hundred feet. Both sides being covered with trees, which almost met overhead, the space below was rendered cool and pleasant, and the water, screened from every breeze, was as smooth as glass.

He rowed along for some time by various windings through this fairy scene, in total uncertainty of what the next turn was to present; and at last, after advancing about three miles, it opened into an extensive lake studded with numerous small islands. The depth of water varied from four to six fathoms; it being deepest at the narrowest parts. Ships might ride in any part of this extraordinary harbour in perfect safety during the most violent tempests; and the shores are so various that repairs of every kind might be conveniently accomplished. At some places natural wharfs are formed by the rocks, with ten fathoms water close to them; and many of the cliffs are hollowed into caves which could easily be converted into storehouses.

After an excursion ashore, the crew of the Lyra found their boats surrounded by a party of the natives, who proved smaller in stature than the inhabitants of Napakiang, and were apparently less curious and intelligent. They watched very attentively while a musket was loaded; and when it was fired they all fell down as if they had been shot, but instantly rose again, and looking at each other, indulged in a timorous laugh. On proceeding to the village first mentioned, it was found the most finished of any that had been seen on the whole island. The streets were regular and

cleanly swept; each house had a neat cane wall as well as a screen before the door; while plantain and other trees were growing so thickly inside the fence that they completely shaded the dwelling. Near the beach were several houses in which a number of persons were seated writing: they offered to the strangers cake and tea, and permitted them to walk every where without the slightest restraint. In front of the village and parallel with the strand is a splendid avenue, thirty feet broad, formed by two rows of large trees, the branches of which join overhead, and effectually protect the loungers from the sun. At different distances are placed wooden benches and stone seats for repose or conversation.

Upon his return to Napakiang the captain of the Lyra found that during his absence a young man belonging to the Alceste had died. When the natives were made aware of this event, they requested permission to prepare a grave in a thicket near the temple, a spot already devoted to sepulture, and used as a private cemetery. Next day the funeral took place with all the formalities usual on such occasions, the commander walking last, with the officers and crew before him. The instinctive politeness of the Napakiangese was never more strikingly displayed than on this occasion; for perceiving that those who were of highest rank walked in the rear, they considered that their station must of course be in front, and they accordingly placed themselves at the head of the procession, and preserved throughout the ceremony the most profound silence. They were all dressed in white robes, which was understood to be their usual mourning. Next day, they requested leave to erect a stone over the grave; and when it was completed they performed their own funeral service over it, by sacrificing a large hog and burning a quantity of spirits.

One of the most interesting persons who visited the English ships was Mádera, a chief of a high order, but who, for the sake of acquiring some knowledge of

foreign arts and manners, chose to appear in disguise. From the earnest way in which he inquired into every subject, it was imagined that he must have been directed by the government to inform himself on these topics; "and certainly," says the captain of the Lyra, "a fitter person could not have been selected, for he adapted himself so readily to all ranks that he became at once a favourite, and every person took pleasure in obliging him. He is always cheerful, and often lively and playful, but his good sense prevents his ever going beyond the line of strict propriety. When required by etiquette to be grave, no one is so immovably serious as Mádera, and when mirth rules the hour, he is the gayest of the gay; such indeed is his taste on these occasions that he not only catches the outward tone of his company, but really appears to think and feel as they do."*

A slight accident which had befallen Captain Maxwell was made the occasion or pretext for a visit on the part of the prince, the heir-apparent to the throne. On the 23d October, accordingly, a deputation of the chiefs went on board the Alceste to give notice that his royal highness meant to present himself in the afternoon, with the view of inquiring into the state of the commanding officer's health. The boat in which he arrived was a flat-bottomed barge, covered with an awning of dark blue with white stars on it, the whole having much the appearance of a hearse. It was preceded by two other boats bearing flags with an inscription upon them, having in the bow an officer of justice carrying a lackered bamboo, and in the stern a man beating a gong. One of the chiefs stepped on board with the prince's card, which was of red paper, forty-eight inches long and eleven broad, describing his office and purpose in the following terms: "Loo-Choo nation, Extender of Law, Great Person, Ko Heang, bows his head, and pays

* An Account of a Voyage of Discovery to the Great Loo-Choo, p. 157.

respect;"—the common visiting expression among the higher class of Chinese.

After the usual formalities, the heir of the little sovereignty on whose shores our countrymen had anchored, acknowledged that his curiosity had been excited by the wonderful accounts conveyed to him respecting the ships. His attention was first attracted by a terrestrial globe which stood near him, and which he examined with great care, begging to have shown to him England, Loo-Choo, Quang-tung or China, and Niphon or Japan. On his expressing a wish to look at the different parts of the frigate, he was conducted all round the decks; observing every thing with attention, but without giving utterance to any feeling of surprise or wonder. He was delighted with the working of the fire-engine, and amazed at seeing the water projected to so great a height. Having heard that there was an African on board, he begged that he might be sent for; and when the black man was brought in, he looked exceedingly surprised, being probably in doubt whether the colour was natural, as one of his people was sent to rub the face of the negro to ascertain whether it was not painted.

The prince, whose name was Shang Pung Fwee, bore the title of Pochin Tay Foo, and stood at the head of the highest of the nine orders of nobility in the islands. He was treated with the greatest respect; no other chief would sit down in his presence or address him without kneeling; and the people at large fell prostrate whenever he passed, whether in a house or in the fields. His manners were genteel, though somewhat haughty; but towards the close of his visit, when his reserve had in some degree worn off, he was occasionally observed to smile, with a shrewd expression in his eyes, as if he was observing things more narrowly than was at first suspected. In reply to a question respecting other foreigners who might have visited his dominions, he stated that a vessel had been there about twenty years ago, but that she had left without holding any communication with the court. This is supposed, with great probability, to

have been the schooner in which Captain Broughton touched at Napakiang in July 1797, after he had been wrecked in his Majesty's ship Providence, on the island of Typinsan. He knew of no other stranger who had stopped at Loo-Choo. On being asked in regard to his acquaintance with other countries, he candidly declared that he was entirely ignorant of the English, the French, and indeed of all European nations, and that his geographical knowledge was confined to the Chinese, Coreans, and Japanese.*

When the commodore made known his desire to see the king, that he might thank him in the name of the English government for the liberal manner in which the crews had been supplied with every kind of refreshment, the prince informed him that it was contrary to the customs and laws of Loo-Choo for any foreigner to see the monarch, unless sent by his own sovereign, and charged with complimentary presents. This reply seemed to preclude all hope of opening a communication with the court, an object which had been earnestly desired by both captains. But, after a pause, his highness unexpectedly resumed the subject by saying that a letter would be written to the King of England, if his friend Maxwell would undertake to deliver it. The latter replied that nothing could give him greater satisfaction than to have the honour of discharging such a duty; upon which the prince and the chiefs arose, and fell on their knees round the naval officers, showing by their countenances that by this arrangement they had been relieved from a very perplexing embarrassment. It soon appeared, however, that there was a mutual misunderstanding; for when the proposed letter was again mentioned, Shang Pung Fwee intimated that it was to be written by the minister, and not by the king. As this altered the case materially, the commodore most

* An Account of a Voyage of Discovery, &c., p. 183. A reference is made to Broughton's Voyage, book ii. chap. ii., for a very interesting account of the natives of Typinsan, who appear to resemble the people of the Great Loo-Choo.

respectfully informed him that such a document as he described could not be received, as it would be an indignity to his Britannic Majesty to offer him an epistle from the hand of another monarch's secretary. The prince at once seemed sensible of the propriety of this objection; and, calling the chiefs around him, entered into a long discussion, at the close of which he declared himself incompetent to decide upon so important a matter, but said that he would consult with the king, whose pleasure should be communicated in a few days.

After an exchange of civilities, the navigators made preparations for their departure; on which occasion the warmth of heart and simplicity of manners peculiar to the natives of the Loo-Choo cluster manifested themselves in a very affecting manner. "On going into the cabin," says Captain Hall, "I found the chiefs very disconsolate, and apparently trying to conceal emotions different, in all probability, from any they had before experienced. Ookooma wished to say something, but was too much affected to speak, and before they reached their boat, they were all in tears. Mádera cried bitterly as he shook hands with his numerous friends, who were loading him with presents. The chiefs, as well as the people in the numerous canoes which had assembled round the ships, stood up, and continued waving their fans and handkerchiefs till we were beyond the reefs, and could see them no longer."

The religion of Loo-Choo appears to be that of Fo, said to have been introduced by the bonzes more than a thousand years ago. Nothing precise on this interesting subject could be learned from the natives themselves, who, like the Chinese, are understood to have resigned all such concerns to the priests. They professed not to know the forms and observances used in the temple. With the exception of the funeral service performed on the demise of the sailor, our countrymen witnessed not any usage which could claim the slightest affinity to a pious sentiment, or a future state. A number of carved stones, indeed, called kawroo, were found at many places,

particularly in the groves on the hill. The kawroo is two feet in length and one in breadth, and is excavated a little on the upper surface on which the offering is laid. On the sides of this stone are carved a variety of characters, denoting the rank of the person who made the offering, the object of his petition, together with the date. One of these inscriptions gives an account of a man about to sail for China in the reign of Kien Long; he implores the divine protection during the voyage. Another, dated in the first year of the late Kia King, is an invocation to the Deity for success in a literary undertaking. Two narrow strips of paper found on a pillar in the temple proved to be invocations; the one to the supreme god, and the other to the evil spirit.

In respect to polygamy, the people of Loo-Choo do not imitate their neighbours in China, but rather condemn the practice as at once inconvenient and unnatural. But it appears, nevertheless, that the women are not so well treated as might have been expected from the mild character of the men and their apparent generosity. It is said they are even restricted from using fans; and that when they are met out of doors by the men, they take no notice of one another, whatever may be the degree of relationship or intimacy subsisting between them. Of the literature of Napakiang no satisfactory account could be obtained: the inhabitants admitted that they had few books in their own language, the greater number on the island being Chinese. Young men of rank are accordingly sent to Pe-king or some other large city to be educated. They appear to have no money current among them, and so ignorant did they appear of the value of metallic coins, that they set no value on the dollars and guineas offered to them by the gentlemen of the expedition.

No arms of any kind were seen, and the natives declared that they had none. It was obvious that the use of muskets and cannon was quite new to them: they even denied having any knowledge of war either by experience or tradition. Our countrymen never saw

any punishment inflicted during their residence. In giving orders the chiefs were mild though firm, and the people always obeyed with cheerfulness. There seemed to be great respect and confidence on the one hand, and much consideration and kind feeling on the other; in all which particulars they are decidedly superior to the Chinese. It is not unworthy of remark, as contrasting with the conduct of most islanders in the Pacific, that during the whole time the English ships were in the harbour there did not occur a single instance of theft. All classes were permitted to go on board indiscriminately, and even to enter the cabins and storehouses unattended. On one occasion when the Alceste was under repair, goods of every kind were lying about, as well as the tools belonging to the carpenter and armourer; and in the observatory, the instruments, books, and pencils were merely placed under cover; yet there was not one article taken away, though many hundreds of people were admitted daily, and allowed to examine whatever they pleased.

The mode of agriculture practised by the Loo-Chooans is obviously adopted from the Chinese, and is equally minute and careful, particularly in the process of irrigation. Of their manufactures it is difficult to speak with certainty. By their own account, the silks they wear are imported from China; but the cotton cloths are made at home, and the printed patterns are described as rather elegant and tasteful. The art of fixing colours, as well as of compounding them, requires such a knowledge of chemistry and so much mechanical skill that, if the workmen be natives, the reader must anticipate the inference as to the necessity of their possessing higher acquisitions than any which met the eyes of the British officers during their brief stay. The natives, it is evident, acted throughout on a system of concealment and evasion, and knew more than they chose to communicate.

Concerning the population of the Great Loo-Choo nothing certain could be learned. The people themselves pleaded ignorance, and as no precise data were within

reach of Captain Hall, he could only compare the estimates that were made, which, as they did not approach to an agreement, cannot claim any particular notice. From the southern point of the island to the distance of five or six miles northward of Napakiang, the country is highly cultivated and thickly studded with houses. All around Port Melville, too, there are populous villages; but the northern and eastern portions, which are not improved by the agriculturist, are thinly inhabited. Nothing like poverty or distress of any kind was seen; on the contrary, every person seemed happy and contented. Except the small-pox, of which a few individuals bore the marks, no indication of disease was perceived; and it was considered worthy of record in the journals of the officers, that no deformed subject met their eyes, on board, in the fields, or even in the precincts of the temple, the place whither such unfortunates usually resort.

Regretting that our limits will not permit us to accompany the same author in his other voyage round Cape Horn, when raised to the command of his Majesty's ship Conway, nor to condense the valuable information contained in his notes, we pass on to the narrative of Dr Ruschenberger, who sailed from New York in the month of April 1835, in the capacity of surgeon to the Peacock, a war-vessel belonging to the United States.

The object of this expedition was to complete commercial treaties with the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam. It appears that Mr Roberts, a mercantile gentleman of New Hampshire, had, in the course of his professional pursuits, visited many countries eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, and discovered in those regions several openings for the American trade; provided that the inconveniences of arbitrary exaction and the irregularities of oriental intercourse could be obviated by a formal negotiation with the ruling powers. His views being made known to the government, it was determined that he should be sent to visit the east in the capacity of special agent, for the purpose of obtain-

ing farther information, and of establishing commercial relations with such Asiatic sovereigns as might be found disposed to lend a willing ear to his representations. Accordingly, in the year 1832, he set sail in the Peacock, the small frigate already mentioned, and succeeded so far as to induce his Siamese majesty and the supreme lord of Muscat to enter into terms for a regular exchange of commodities. These contracts having been approved by the president and senate of the United States, Mr Roberts was appointed ambassador to exchange the ratifications; and with this view the same ship was again put in commission, to carry him once more to the eastern shores of Africa and the Indian continent.

After passing the Cape, the Peacock entered the Mozambique channel; and at the northern extremity of Madagascar, the crew obtained a hasty glance of the Comoro Islands, which are said to be four in number. It is asserted by the surgeon that the largest is about ninety miles in circumference, its surface being broken into gently swelling hills and valleys. It contains about thirty thousand inhabitants, originally from the African continent, who speak Arabic and profess the Mohammedan religion. This description is far from being accurate, for the island Angazija, commonly called Comoro, is a volcanic mountain of great height, visible, it is said, at the distance of forty leagues, and the fires of which are still active. The natives are indeed remarkable for their strict attention to the rites of their faith, being rather intolerant towards other creeds, and, on this ground chiefly, little disposed to encourage the visits of foreigners, more especially Christians, of whose zeal and power they are by no means ignorant.

On the first day of September, the Peacock arrived at the eastern side of Zanzibar, and anchored near the town the following morning. This island, about forty-five miles long and from twelve to fifteen broad, presents a low undulating surface, rarely attaining an elevation of five hundred feet above the level of the sea. It is clothed with a rich verdure, shaded by groves in which

the stateliest forms of the African forest are mingled, in endless variety of shape and hue, with the fruit-trees of India; while along the seashore, and often appearing to rise directly from the surf, the cocoa-nut-palm forms a graceful fringe. Ruschenberger not unnaturally remarks that "after gazing on the blue skies and blue seas for fifty days, such a sight carries with it an exhilarating and delightful influence which one must experience to understand."*

The whole eastern coast of Africa, from Cape Delgado to the equator, is girt with chains of islands or reefs of coral, many of them close to the mainland, to which they are in progress of annexation; a work which will be completed at no distant day, as great beds of the same substance are found inland many miles from the beach. The doctor favours his readers with a learned dissertation on the wondrous fabrics reared by the zoophytes, or animalculæ, to which the attention of the navigator in the equatorial seas is so frequently attracted. But his observations possess not the slightest degree of novelty, nor do they throw any new light on that marvellous process to which the globe owes so much of its present form, and whence it is constantly deriving materials for islands and continents yet to be developed.

Zanzibar is watered by several little streams, on the largest of which, called the Panidogo, stands the town, containing not less than twelve thousand inhabitants. When the English, towards the close of the sixteenth century, first visited this settlement on their way to the East Indies, they experienced a most inhospitable reception; and continuing to touch there for many years afterwards, they suffered much—occasionally the loss of life itself—from the jealousy of the Portuguese and the suspicious fears of the natives. At a later period, the charter of the East India Company threw

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World during the Years 1835, 36, and 37; including a Narrative of an Embassy to the Sultan of Muscat and the King of Siam. By W. S. W. Ruschenberger, M. D., Surgeon to the Expedition, vol. i. p. 24.

impediments in the way of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Eastern Africa; and consequently our trade with Zanzibar is of very recent origin, dating only from the expiration of their monopoly. The present sultan of Muscat has taken great pains to improve this island, which he will probably make the place of his permanent residence and the capital of his dominions. It is conveniently situated opposite to those African coasts over which he claims a paramount sovereignty, and from which, indeed, he derives the greater part of his revenue. The inhabitants, too, are perfectly disposed to acknowledge his title, while in the neighbourhood of the other capital his authority is not received without reluctance. Nor has he been able, by any extent of munificence or display of abilities, to induce the Arab tribes of Oman to forget that he is a usurper, and that the family of their ancient chiefs is not yet extinct.

During the last half century the commerce of Zanzibar has increased chiefly, it is presumed, at the expense of the Portuguese settlements at Mozambique and on the river Zambezi, where their treatment of the natives has been not less inconsiderate than cruel. The cultivation of the island, too, has kept pace with its external trade. The sultan, desirous to turn its natural advantages to account, made extensive plantations of sugar-cane, bringing experienced persons from the Mauritius to superintend its growth and extract its produce. This attempt was not finally successful, for the sugar was found more expensive than that of the West Indies, and hardly equal in quality. The culture of indigo and coffee was vigorously undertaken about the same time, the former under very favourable auspices; and the clove and nutmeg are said to be prominent objects at present. These delicate spices continue to thrive so well that, according to Dr Ruschenberger, "almost every body on the island is now clearing away the cocoa-nut to make way for them." The officers of the Peacock rode a few miles from the

town to visit a clove plantation belonging to the sultan, of which is given the following description. The house stands in the centre of a yard about a hundred and twenty feet square; its walls are of coral, not less than seven feet high, and enclose several out-buildings for slaves; near the mansion was a small garden, in which the rose-bush and nutmeg-tree were flourishing together. As far as the eye could reach over a beautiful undulating land, nothing was to be seen but clove-trees of different ages, varying in height from five to twenty feet. The form of the tree is conical; the branches grow at nearly right angles with the trunk, and they begin to shoot a few inches from the ground. The plantation contains nearly four thousand, and each tree yields on an average six pounds of cloves in the year. They are carefully picked by hand, and then dried in the shade; numbers of slaves were seen standing on ladders gathering the fruit, while others were at work clearing the ground of dead leaves. The whole is in the finest order, presenting a picture of industry and of admirable beauty and neatness. But the result, even in 1835, was still doubtful; and it has been found that the more precious spices are incapable of bearing removal from the region in which they are indigenous, and that in the western hemisphere at least, though they grow freely, they lose their aromatic power.

The surgeon of the Peacock hazards a statement which, whether perfectly accurate or not, merits due attention on the part of British manufacturers. In reference to Zanzibar, viewed as a great commercial depot, he relates that his countrymen obtain in it gum, copal, ivory, and hides, for which they give cottons and specie; adding, that "the American cotton manufactures have taken precedence of the English, not only at this place and in many parts of the east, but on the Pacific coast of America. The English endeavour to imitate our fabric by stamping their own with American marks, and by other means assimilating it; but the

people say that the strength and wear of the American goods are so superior that, lest they be deceived, they will no longer even purchase from Englishmen."*

The embassy did not find the sultan at Zanzibar, he having, previously to their arrival, taken his departure for his Arabian capital, and left as governor of the island a prince only sixteen years of age. They therefore proceeded to Muscat, and on the 8th September crossed the equator in the fairest weather, which, by lulling them into security, had nearly proved fatal to the ship and all on board. On the 20th, the sea was noticed to be remarkably green, though no bottom was found at a hundred fathoms; and as it was concluded from a meridian observation that they were still sixty miles from the Arabian shore, they continued their course, and took no precautions, notwithstanding those admonitory indications. In the evening a land-bird flew on deck, and a few hours afterwards two others, together with some sea-weed, were met with;

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* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, &c., vol. i. p. 65. Speaking of the competition with British commerce in India, Lieutenant Burnes in his interesting Travels into Bokhara says, "the most formidable rivals are the Americans, who have only lately entered on this trade. At present they land most of their cargoes on the east coast of Africa, from which they find their way to Muscat and Persia. Hitherto they have only sent white goods, and with them they have spread an opinion, which was repeated to me by the Armenian merchants of Ispahan, that their cloths are superior to the British, because the cotton is produced in their own country, and not injured from pressing. It is said to wear and wash well; and if this cloth were introduced more extensively, the merchants assure me that it would have a good sale; very little of it has been hitherto imported."

The number of foreign vessels which visited Zanzibar, from 16th September 1832 to 26th May 1834, amounted in all to forty-one sail, viz.

Nation.	Vessels.	Tonnage.
American,	32	5497
English,	7	1403
French,	1	340
Spanish,	1	319
Total,	41	7559

still no danger was apprehended, till about two in the morning "all hands were roused from sleep by a horrid noise, caused by the ship's bottom grinding, and tearing, and leaping on a bed of coral rocks."

When day broke a low sandy desert was discovered about a league to the eastward, being part of the island of Mazeira, between which and the continent the Peacock had run aground. The utmost efforts were made to save the vessel; the water-casks were started, and some of the guns thrown into the sea; and a raft was constructed on board of which were placed the top-rigging and provisions. While these measures were in progress a large canoe approached to reconnoitre the apparent wreck; and the Arabs on board, flourishing their swords over their heads in a menacing manner, refused to admit any friendly intercourse. Soon afterwards four others of larger dimensions, and filled with armed men, made their appearance. They anchored near the frigate, waiting with impatience the moment she should go to pieces, undeterred by the firing of musketry and even of great guns.

Meantime, as all efforts to save her seemed unavailing, it was resolved to send a boat with a picked crew of six men to Muscat; whither also Mr Roberts, bearing the treaty, determined to proceed in the face of all the perils which presented themselves both afloat and on land. They were chased during a part of the first day by a pirate, but night favoured their escape, and after an anxious voyage of eighty hours, they reached their destination. The ship, too, after being three days on the rocks, was so much lightened that she began to rise from the body of the reef, and at length beat out of the gulf of Mazeira into deep water. As soon as the sultan was informed of the accident, he ordered a sloop-of-war to be equipped, to convey to the Peacock water and provisions; the governor of a neighbouring town was commanded to march at the head of three hundred armed men, to protect the people from piratical depredations; and couriers were

despatched to the chiefs of the Bedouins along the coast, to warn them that he would make them answerable with their heads for the lives and property of the strangers.

Sayid Said, the ruler of Muscat, is a very remarkable personage, whose reign will always shine conspicuous in the history of his country, as connected with its first efforts towards civilisation. His dominions, with some partial interruptions, extend about three thousand miles along both the coasts of the Persian Gulf, Arabia, and Eastern Africa. But as, except in Oman, he lays claim to no territory a league distant from the sea-beach, his empire is essentially maritime; and he measures its importance by its trade, and not by its population or resources for war. He collects his revenue on all the shores which acknowledge his sway, and thereby maintains a fleet consisting, according to Ruschenberger, of no fewer than seventy-five vessels. He has one eighty-four gun ship, one sixty-four, and six or eight frigates, all built of teak, after English models, and maintained in excellent order. As there is no danger of any reaction arising from his innovations, which have been very judiciously introduced, the discipline of his navy and the regularity of his troops can hardly fail to promote refinement among his people, and a due respect for order. He owes his political existence to the effectual succour he received from the government of Bombay, when he first engaged in the perilous struggle for supremacy; and from the same quarter he has derived much of the practical knowledge and wise counsels which have subsequently directed his career. Sayid has in his service a number of Arabs who, having been educated in India, are well acquainted with the English language, and in general attainments far superior to the rest of their countrymen. In the library of one of these officials the Americans found the novels of Cooper and of Sir Walter Scott; and, in a word, taking into view all his means, it is not improbable that the Sultan of Muscat

will, in the end, effect more, in proportion to his political importance, towards the improvement of the Mohammedan world than even the Ottoman emperor or the Pasha of Egypt, and with but few deviations from a pacific course. It is hoped that British influence will be still farther exerted for the promotion of such good ends, and that our commanders in the east will induce the docile ruler of Muscat to establish in his dominions some system of social polity, calculated to confirm the civil rights of his subjects, and to give the chance of stability to his numerous plans for their advancement in secular knowledge.*

Muscat has few recommendations to a stranger from the shores of Europe, or to a traveller from the northern section of America. It seems to be one of the hottest places in the world; for, situated at the base of a range of naked cliffs which reflect the rays of the sun, and screened from the sea-breeze by high promontories in front, it glows like an oven. The dark side of the rugged granite, says the surgeon of the embassy, is unrelieved by a single spot of green; all is barren, and offers a thousand surfaces and points which, by giving intensity to the solar heat, render the town almost uninhabitable. On one occasion the thermometer stood at midnight so high as 104°; and the wind was like a flame of fire. On the forecastle of a ship the heat was so intense that the tube of the instrument, graduated only to 122°, was completely filled by the expansion of the mercury. The more opulent of the native merchants spend only part of the day in the town; and, when the hours of business are over, they retire to their villas at Matrah, a place built on the shores of an open bay, separated from the recess in which Muscat stands by an isthmus two miles broad. The united population is understood to amount to nearly forty thousand. The bold character of the rocky heights surrounding the capital; the forts, with red flags, crowning all the com-

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 103. Edinburgh Review, vol. lxviii. pp. 57, 58.

manding positions; the white houses contrasted with the sun-burnt precipices behind them; and two or three buildings of Portuguese origin and an imposing appearance, all combine to make a lively and agreeable impression on the mind of a stranger not yet acquainted with its overwhelming climate.

The landing-place was thronged with Arabs to witness the novel sight of twenty American officers in full health and high spirits, contrasting strangely with their own tawny meagre looks. With Commodore Kennedy at their head, they passed through narrow crowded streets towards the palace, where they were received by the sultan and two of his sons. He shook them each by the hand and motioned them to a seat. The divan, which, overlooking the sea, has the advantage of being airy, is about fifteen feet wide and thirty long. It was furnished with fine Persian rugs and Chinese chairs; and in this hall his highness usually administers justice and receives foreign ministers, as well as all other persons of authority or station. The sultan wore a high turban of cotton, finely checked, blue and white, and a black cloth mantle, with large straight sleeves, bound round the neck with a slender silk cord of red and white, which terminated in tassels. Beneath the mantle were a white tunic and girdle. In his hand he carried a large sabre in a black scabbard mounted in gold; and the only ornament which he wore was a large ruby, set in silver, on the little finger of the left hand. His feet and legs were bare, he having left his sandals at the threshold. This costume set off his fine figure and manly countenance. Compared with the Arabs generally, his head and indeed his whole person are remarkably large. He is about fifty years of age, and his manners are polished and graceful.*

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 109. After remarking that Muscat is now the capital of Amân or Omân, a name which Moore has rendered familiar to most English readers, he adds, "but I doubt whether a visit to this place would not have stifled the inspiration of the poet, and deprived the world of the splendid tale of Lalla Rookh;"—a mistake pardonable, perhaps, in an author who does not pursue literature as a profession.

The American envoy and his attendants were soon afterwards invited to a feast by his highness, who, when he had seen them seated at table, retired, according to his usual practice, leaving his guests to the unrestrained enjoyment of the good things which were set before them. To the governor of Muscat were deputed the duties of host, whose civility was amply supported by the substantial materials placed on the board, two sheep roasted whole, stuffed with prunes, dates, and cashoo-nuts; to which were added, fowls dressed in the same manner, with curries, cakes, and fruits of various kinds. But the authority of the Koran prohibited the use of wine, which yielded its place to sherbet, lemonade, and a preparation of new milk.*

In discharging the duty on which he was commissioned, Mr Roberts did not neglect the interests of his government nor the wishes of the mercantile community. The sultan, when exchanging the ratifications of the treaty, asked from what date it was understood to take effect; in reply to which question, the other suggested that it ought to be considered as having come into operation on the day it was confirmed by the president and senate of the United States. To this proposal, which carried back the provisions of the compact more than twelve months, his highness assented without difficulty: "a concession," says Dr Ruschenberger, which "put some hundreds of dollars into the pockets of the American merchants, by whom the trade is chiefly carried on, and filled the measure of the sultan's liberality." It is no doubt unusual to consider a treaty

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, vol. i. p. 129. At the close of the banquet, "Captain Calfaun and a slave took the handkerchief of each guest and poured upon it a plentiful supply of attar of roses. They were followed by a slave bearing a golden *arrosoir*, in the shape of a Florence flask, having a long neck and perforated extremity, like that of a watering pot, with which he dashed a quantity of rose-water, where the attar had been poured. This done the sultan entered, and remarked that we had partaken so sparingly of the feast, that he thought it would be well to send the remains on board ship."

binding until after the exchange of its ratification by the governments between which it is negotiated; but in this case, the advantage gained by the traders was at the expense of those individuals who farmed the revenues of Zanzibar, and not of the sovereign, whose income would sustain no diminution. The document in question, which is given at full length by the author of the narrative, provides in substance that the commerce of the United States shall be freed from arbitrary exactions; and, by placing it on an equal footing with that of the most favoured nations, imposes only a duty at the rate of five per cent. on imports and exports, while others, not equally privileged, continue to pay one half more.

The "sketches," as the author is pleased to call his observations on Muscat, its population, and manners, are amusing, and, to such readers as are not acquainted with the state of society in the east, must prove also instructive. It is a principal feature in the character of the Arabs to obey, with an inflexible regularity, the precepts of their religion; nothing prevents them from praying at the appointed hour. An officer who went on board the Peacock did not once omit his devotions at noon and at four o'clock. He never hesitated, though engaged in business, to signify that the appointed hour had arrived; and spreading out his turban on the quarter-deck, he turned his face towards Mecca, and went through his genuflexions and prayers with the same formality that he would have observed in the holy temple of the prophet. Education, our author adds, is not much attended to in the sultan's dominions; children, generally, are only taught to read and write, and recite passages from the Koran. The wealthy send their sons to Bombay, and occasionally to Persia, for instruction. Physicians study their profession in the latter country, but they are not considered by the Arabs themselves trustworthy as surgeons. In this portion of the East, the Persian language is what French is in Europe, a court speech which all the educated use. As yet, that

engine of knowledge, the press, has not been introduced into Muscat; an omission which is much to be regretted, because under the government of so rational a monarch as Sayid Said bin Sultan, it would prove an inestimable blessing to his subjects.

It is unnecessary to accompany the expedition to the British colonies in India, because, though the observations contained in the Narrative are both intelligent and entertaining, they do not present any thing either new or striking. Bombay and Ceylon appeared in the eyes of the doctor as settlements of great importance; and of the latter he remarks that, "whether considered in respect to its natural sources of wealth, its climate, or flourishing condition, is the brightest spot in the colonial possessions of the British crown." In general he regards, "the dominion of the British in India in the light of a political mission, sent with the benevolent purpose of disseminating true knowledge, and of teaching how men may enjoy most freedom at the least cost of feeling and treasure. To this it will come in the end; and then may England be as proud of this child as she now ought to be of the United States, the most precocious of her offspring." The means for accomplishing this great consummation is in his estimation a free and well-conducted press, "which will pour forth its fertilizing streams of knowledge upon the fallow mind of the vast multitude, and they will acquire that love of free agency which God has planted in the human heart, and soon rally round a flag that promises to lead them to independence of the foreign yoke which now represses their best energies."

The "sketches" in Hindostan, if not very profound, are at least minute, familiar, and well calculated to give information on those smaller matters which are usually omitted by the regular historian and political economist. His delineations in Java, though perhaps not less accurate, are by no means calculated to please the rulers of that fine island, "the stubborn, blind, brutal, Batavian Dutch," as he chooses to describe them. On

the 25th March 1836, the American ships arrived at the mouth of the Meinam, or river of Siam; and the smaller of the two was immediately sent with a letter to the Prahklang, or prime minister, acquainting him that the envoy had returned with the treaty, and requesting that suitable boats might be forwarded to convey the embassy to the capital. About eight miles from the entrance of the stream, there is a bar that prevents the progress of large vessels, on which account they are obliged to anchor more than three leagues from the shore, which, being very low, is not visible from the deck of a frigate. This was no agreeable situation in which to be detained, particularly with a sickly crew and in want of fresh provisions; but haste is incompatible with the etiquette of the Siamese court, and the greater the delay in receiving the representative of a foreign power, the higher is the honour conferred on his country. Some of the officers attempted to ascend the river in one of their boats, but soon learned that, if they persisted in their design, they might bring upon themselves the chastisement of the bamboo, or perhaps the loss of their heads. In answer to their complaints on the ground of delay, the captain of the port reminded them that "different nations have different customs. In the presence of your king, whom you call president, you stand and take off your hat; in the presence of the king of Siam, you sit down and take off your shoes." They accordingly resolved to remain no longer among a people who seemed to take pleasure in thwarting the wishes of their visiters, and after sharing the hospitality of a governor on the river side, they returned on board.

Meantime the Peacock had been honoured with a visit by Prince Momfanoi, the heir-apparent, who was esteemed one of the most promising characters in the East. He was dressed in a jacket of pink damasked crape, closely fitting the body, a sarong of dark silk, knotted in front, the ends hanging down nearly to the ground, and over it was tied a light sash, upon which

two jewelled rings of large size were strung. This costume left the head, arms, and legs bare. He had an active determined look: his stature was not more than five feet five inches, but his limbs were stout and well proportioned. His complexion was olive, almost as dark as that of the majority of negroes met with in the northern and middle sections of the United States. His hair was coarse and black, and excepting a tuft, trimmed and standing up like bristles on the top of the head, is cut very close. In short, the general character of his features is that of the Mongol race. "The form of the eye," says the doctor, in language bordering on the professional, "is paraboloid, the upper lid extending in a thin fold over the lower one at the side of the nose, which is rather flat; the lips are full, the chin retreating, and, with the exception of a few hairs on the upper lip, he has no beard."

Momfanoi, who speaks English well, has a good collection of books in our language, and is said to be fond of study. While on board he displayed considerable knowledge, and was very inquisitive about nautical affairs. It appeared indeed very soon that he had a talent for shipbuilding, and had actually worked with adze and chisel at his favourite occupation. He had succeeded in constructing a bark of about two hundred tons burden, after an English model, and was then engaged, with the aid of three British seamen, in finishing it in a very handsome style. But his genius is not limited to the mechanical arts, and the faculty of imitation; on the contrary, he appears to be at once bold and circumspect, to unite much good sense and observation with an enterprising spirit, and to be in every respect capable of effecting a most beneficial revolution in the East.

Ruschenberger, impatient of restraint, determined to go to Bankok in spite of all formalities, and accordingly set off with a friend. But as his attempt produced no practical result, the reader will derive more information from accompanying the junk or boat of ceremony, which

n the 5th April arrived to carry the envoy and his ttendants up the river. It had in the middle a platorm raised above the deck, furnished with chairs, and overed with a canvass awning. The rigging was of ratan; the crew, who appeared to have been for the most art of Portuguese descent, were gaudily attired in a ostume partaking equally of the East and West. The essel was hardly large enough to accommodate the mbassador's attendants in addition to a crew of thirtyvo individuals. They had no light but such as was aforded by a paper lantern and two or three torches; the ain fell in torrents; and when they found themselves posed by the ebb tide, the Americans insisted upon oing ashore notwithstanding the violation of etiquette hich was thereby committed. The Meinam in its hole course from Bankok to the sea is about half a ile wide, with a constant depth of four or five fathoms. winds through an alluvial country, perfectly flat, and overed in some places with a thick jungle; in front which, on the very margin of the stream, are seen umerous fishermen's huts built on stakes, and with aper figures of strange device suspended near them, to eep off evil spirits.

It was night when the junk reached its destination; nd next morning the embassy awoke, as one of their umber expresses it, "strangers in a strange land," and llied forth at an early hour to gratify their curiosity n regard to a country of which many odd things had eached their ears. They found the whole entirely ew; they saw nothing which bore any resemblance to christian land. Like Venice, the city seemed to have risen from the waters; half the population was afloat; very thing indeed was peculiar; and though not a noment was lost, they were perfectly aware that they eft the capital of Siam without seeing more than a very mall part of its singular form, manners, and economy. Bankok is built at a point where the Meinam is about alf-a-mile broad, and perhaps twenty miles in a direct ine from the sea. It is irregular in its plan, and is every

where intersected by canals. The streets are narrow and dirty, the paved walk in the middle being scarcely wide enough for two persons to walk abreast. For this a rather singular reason is urged, namely, that there are not two of precisely the same rank in the kingdom; and etiquette does not permit persons of different degrees to advance side by side. Many of the houses are large, but the greater portion are miserable bamboo huts without any appearance of comfort. Trees are numerous in every part of the metropolis; and the frequent temples, with the gilt spires and glazed tile roofs sparkling in the sun, give to it a picturesque appearance and an air of unbounded wealth.

But the most populous and busy quarter of the town is the floating portion. On each side of the river are moored rafts of bamboos, on which are constructed houses or sheds with open verandas in front wherein various goods are exposed for sale. Rows of Chinese junks, some of them of several hundred tons, extend two miles along the middle of the stream retailing their cargoes. Many families live wholly in their little gondolas, called sampans. Bankok, in short, exhibits at the same time a little of the architecture of India, the industry of China, and the maritime or aquatic habits of the Malays. The floating town is quite characteristic of the latter people, many large cities inhabited by them being constructed altogether on the water, either resting on stakes driven into the banks, or on rafts fastened to the shore. Of the population of the capital, which, according to Dr Ruschenberger, amounts to 401,300, not fewer than 361,000 are Chinese, while the Siamese proper do not exceed 8000. The greater part of the former nation are from Chaou Chow, the eastern section of the Canton province, the majority of them being agriculturists, and rather rude in speech and manners. The artisans and sailors come from Ka and Fokien, while the pedlars and fishermen are emigrants from Hainan, a district celebrated for its minute industry.

The American officers paid a visit to the rince on

board his bark, the equipment of which continued to afford him constant occupation. He ushered them into his cabin, where he offered them tea and cigars. He called the vessel the Royal Adelaide, and with his own hand had painted the name, in English characters, on a rack for small arms at the after-hatch. His taste for painting was displayed in several places; a large chest in the cabin was marked, T. MOMFANOI, and he showed several of his drawings.

Upon going ashore he conducted them towards the palace, and leading them into his own house, he said, "Gentlemen, you are welcome—I am glad to see you." The interior is lofty, though but of one story, and is divided into three apartments by two screens, which do not reach the ceiling. The centre room was furnished in the Anglo-Asiatic style, and as neatly as any dwelling in India. On a table near a sofa were violins, flutes, and a flageolet, upon which instruments his highness performs; while the adjoining apartment was fitted up as a study, furnished with a small collection of English books, a fine barometer, and other apparatus. A small closet communicating with it was arranged as a private museum, in which were some fine specimens of natural history, including quadrupeds, birds, and reptiles, all preserved and set up by himself. He exhibited also some of his live pets, among which were a large baboon, half-a-dozen beautiful deer, a pair of black bears from Borneo, with a white stripe over the fore part of each shoulder; these were tame and playful; and a large cassowary from New Holland, so tame as to eat from one's hand, was running about at liberty. In the mean time he had ordered three or four alligators to be brought from beneath the stable, with their jaws so secured that they might be examined with safety. In the adjoining area were field-pieces and guns of various kinds and calibre, ships' spars, and other warlike munitions neatly arranged under a shed. He had numerous questions to ask about every thing he exhibited, and was never satisfied till he

felt sure that he clearly understood the answers which were given to him.

The taste for shipbuilding is a fortunate propensity in the heir-apparent of such a country as Siam, where the finest timber abounds, and which is easily floated down from the upper forests on the current of the river. The respect for civilisation, too, he so strongly manifests, will hereafter, it is probable, display its benign energies on a grander scale in an attempt to remodel the frame of society, and in giving a beneficial direction to the industry of the people. Sunk in sloth and all the vices engendered by oppression and bad government, the inhabitants have hitherto made but small progress in the arts which elevate and adorn the intercourse of mankind. The Chinese, indeed, are constantly flowing into the country, carrying with them regular habits, parsimony in their style of living, and a considerable knowledge of agriculture, as well as mechanical skill. Nothing, therefore, seems wanting, except the strong and clear head of an intelligent ruler, to raise the valley of the Meinam into political importance among the nations of Eastern Asia.*

Ruschenberger does not give a flattering account of the operations of the mission established by his countrymen in the vicinity of Bankok. He doubts the soundness of the policy on which they act, but willingly accords to them admiration for their devotedness to the high cause which excites and cheers them in their philanthropic labours. Deprived of friends, of congenial society, of many comforts, and all the luxuries of life, they

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, vol. ii. p. 34-36. The author received a very unfavourable impression of the Siamese character, who, "like all Asiatics of low latitudes, are disposed to indolence and to the indulgence of the animal propensities. They are mean, rapacious, and cruel; and never betray any of that high-toned generosity of feeling which raises our admiration or demands our respect. They are suspicious, vacillating, and procrastinating, and destitute of those principles of honour which give stability to society in the christian world."—Vol. ii. p. 47.

are seen toiling in a cause "the success of which appears to be almost hopeless, at least the most sanguine now living cannot expect to see it." The doctor urges the cause of missions not on the ground of religion, for viewed in that light alone he does not perceive their "intrinsic necessity," but simply on the footing of mercantile and political expediency. Of their beneficial effect with reference to the accession of dollars, he holds a strong belief, and would therefore bestow on them a direct encouragement in Asia, Polynesia, and indeed in all the pagan world. By the introduction of the christian religion, he maintains, commerce will be benefited. Merchants, upon a candid examination of the subject, will find their interest in doing all they can in behalf of those pious individuals who sacrifice the honours of this world in earning a glorious crown in the next, by attempting to put misbelievers in the path to sound morals, true religion, and rational liberty. To what extent the American trade in the East would be augmented by the conversion to christianity of Siam, Cochin-China, China, and Japan, it is impossible to conjecture. When the half-naked millions of Asia shall attain christianity, and with it all the new wants which the necessary change in their condition will produce, the soil of America, rich and vast as it is, will, he thinks, scarcely be adequate to supply them. A new and extensive mart must be opened for manufactures of the United States of all kinds, and even literary men will find an increased demand for their labours. Hundreds of ships will spread their sails to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, destined for the shores of Asia and the isles scattered in the Southern Ocean, and "commerce will pour her wealth, gathered in the lap of the Old World, into the lap of the New."

It is impossible to regard the conversion of the nations in a light more secular and selfish; implying an interest not for the spiritual welfare of the ignorant heathen, but for the workshops and counting-houses of the States. The object of the voyage was, indeed, the advancement

of trade, a legitimate purpose, no doubt, and worthy of all the care lavished upon it; it was not, however, incumbent on the chief medical officer of the expedition to represent the faith of the republic as holding a place quite subordinate to its commercial prosperity.

The embassy were at length admitted to an audience of his "magnificent majesty," the King of Siam, the details of which are described in language which partakes largely of the burlesque. Mr Roberts and his companions, entering the hall and passing round a screen, found themselves in the presence of the monarch and of the royal court of Thai, the vernacular name of the country. The sovereign, a fat man of about fifty, sat like the god Buddha cross-legged upon his throne, enveloped in a rich mantle of gold tissue, chewing betel, and squirting saliva into a golden urn. Numerous attendants prepared this pungent masticatory, and with large fans circulated the air about his person, as he reposed in all the pomp and circumstance of regal state. The treaty to which their interview had reference, and of which the ratifications were soon afterwards exchanged, is inserted in his second volume by Ruschenberger, but presents nothing worthy of abridgment, or that would prove in any degree interesting to the general reader. It secured not any particular preference to American ships or cargoes; it simply fixed the mode of levying duties at Bankok, and reduced to express stipulations certain principles of international law, which, in the intercourse of civilized states, are acknowledged to be valid without the aid of treaties.

The envoy, after visiting Cochin-China, proceeded with very unhealthy crews to Macao, where he and Lieutenant Campbell, the commander of the Enterprise, breathed their last. The Americans felt to its full extent the influence of that jealousy which the authorities at Canton have always entertained towards strangers who wish to engage in traffic at that celebrated emporium. The unexpected arrival of the two ships in the roads did not fail to cause a great stir among the mandarins.

The vessels were examined again and again; the guns were counted, and the number of the men repeatedly reckoned. Numerous despatches were written concerning them, and at last a letter arrived from the Hong merchants, begging that the cruisers might not loiter there, "lest they should cause business."

On the morning of the seventh day of September 1836, the Peacock and Enterprise arrived in sight of Oahu, one of the Sandwich Islands. In the course of their residence at this interesting group, the officers collected a number of facts that contribute to throw some light on the rising civilisation of the inhabitants, which the surgeon maintains has been considerably overrated. The friends of the missionaries, it is alleged, have drawn pictures much too flattering of the prosperity and prospects of the dominions of the barbarian king. Ruschenberger asserts that the account given by the Rev. Mr Stewart, in the little volume entitled his "Residence," is a work of imagination rather than a faithful description. The pious teachers, he adds, are now sensibly feeling the injurious effects of the overpraise which he has bestowed upon them; and, it must be acknowledged, that the suspicions even of the most partial reader were awakened by his narrative respecting fashionable drives, Windsor uniforms, and other proofs of advancement in the luxuries of social life.

It is not unknown to those who take an interest in the progress of the gospel among the heathen, that several Roman Catholics arrived a few years ago at the Island of Oahu, with the intention of establishing a mission for the propagation of their peculiar tenets. The chiefs observed that their form of worship differed from those of the Christians already settled there, and applied to these last to know which of the two rival sects taught the true religion. They were, as a matter of course, assured that the Calvinists held the sounder faith and practised the purer adoration; "upon which," said the rulers of the land, "these new comers must go away, because we do not want two religions, and are

satisfied with our old teachers." They were at the same time reminded of the sanguinary character of the papists; that they had attempted to exterminate the protestants by famine, the bayonet, and the pains of fire; and that, if they were allowed to remain, the intruders would probably have recourse to similar means for accomplishing their purposes. Under the excitement thus produced, the Romanists were imperatively ordered to leave the island. They replied that they were ready to go, but possessed not the means of departure. Under these circumstances the others fitted out a vessel, put the unwelcome priests on board, with directions that they should be landed at the nearest friendly port on the coast of California. Their treatment during the voyage was such as to preclude every cause of complaint; but some of their converts meanwhile were cast into prison, because, when ordered to cease from observing the rites of the popish communion, they refused to obey. Proceeding on a nice distinction, the American teachers declared that the recusants were punished not for adhering to their religious opinions, but for insubordination and disrespect to the authority of the native chiefs.

It is to be feared that in the Sandwich cluster, as in all other countries inhabited by savages, the progress of civilisation will be accompanied by the gradual disappearance of the aborigines, and that, at no distant period, the bold race of men who received Captain Cook as a supernatural being, will not be represented by any descendants. At present the population diminishes with a rapidity and steadiness which seem to threaten its total extinction.

The Peacock arrived on the coast of Chili at an important crisis, when the breaking out of a war between that republic and Peru endangered the commerce of neutral states. At the request of the American merchants, therefore, her voyage homeward was delayed till the cruisers destined for that coast should make their appearance; and accordingly the year 1837 was nearly

spent before she cast anchor on the shore of Virginia, having been absent about thirty months.

It is now time to draw the attention of the reader to the circumnavigation accomplished by Captain Fitzroy in a succession of years prior to 1836. The revolutions which liberated South America from the yoke of Spain, and the consequent increase of British trade with Chili and the other republics bordering on the Pacific Ocean, are understood to have supplied some of the motives which induced the Lords of the Admiralty, in 1825, to order that an accurate survey should be made of the southern coasts of that continent. For this service were equipped the Adventure of 330 tons burden, and the Beagle of 235 tons, rigged as a bark and mounting six guns. The command of the former, implying the superintendence of the expedition, was committed to Captain King, already distinguished by his survey of New Holland, while the charge of the latter vessel was intrusted to Captain Pringle Stokes.

On the 22d May 1826, the two ships sailed from Plymouth; and on the 19th November following they left their anchorage at Monte Video, steering southwards to commence their arduous labours. About the end of December they entered the Straits of Magellan and stopped at Port Famine, which, possessing many local advantages, was selected as their headquarters while in those seas. They had already touched at Cape Possession, both of which places are closely connected with the several attempts made by the Spaniards to colonize the borders of the Magellanic inlet, actuated by the hope of securing all the advantages which could be derived from the discovery of that passage into the great ocean which stretches towards the west. Of these efforts the one conducted by Sarmiento in 1579, at the command of the Viceroy of Peru, is perhaps the most memorable on account of the results to which it led. Two years afterwards he sailed from Spain with a fleet of twenty-three vessels; but tempest

inappropriate Name — Port Famine with local advantages — and Cape Possession never possessed, attempted only.

and disaffection so diminished their number, that when he entered the Straits, no more than six remained, having on board only five hundred men. With these he began to build a town in the vicinity of Cape Possession, whence he afterwards removed with a small colony to a spot about forty leagues further south along the shore, where, induced by the advantages of wood, water, and a good harbour, he laid the foundations of San Felippe, destroyed in 1587 by the celebrated Cavendish. The Spanish settlers soon fell victims to hunger, disease, and perhaps the violence of the natives; only one being found alive by the English navigator now mentioned, who assigned to the ill-fated haven the name of Port Famine by which it is still known.

Thirty years after the lamentable attempt now described, an opulent Dutch merchant, Isaac le Maire, fitted out two brigantines for the express purpose of sailing through the open sea round the southern termination of the new world. His views were realized; and the extreme Cape, lashed by the waves of a stormy ocean, took the name of the village of Horn, on the Zuyder Zee. This discovery roused the jealousy of the court of Spain, who instantly despatched a small squadron to circumnavigate Tierra del Fuego. To this achievement succeeded a long period of inaction; and it was not till 1774, when Falkner published his account of Patagonia, setting forth the advantages which might be derived from the possession of the country, that the government of Madrid again shook off its lethargy, and sent Don Antonio de Cordova to inspect once more the celebrated Straits of Magellan.

When the Beagle, carrying on the survey westward, was in Port Galleot, one of the officers ascended the neighbouring mountain De la Cruz, and found on its summit the remains of a glass bottle, a Spanish coin, and a roll of papers, which proved to be the materials left by Don Antonio, together with a copy of a document previously deposited there by M. de Bougainville. Cordova's account of the climate is very uninviting.

Speaking of the summer months, he remarks, "Seldom was the sky clear, and short were the intervals in which we experienced the sun's warmth; no day passed without some rain falling, and the most usual state of the weather was that of constant rain." The reports of Wallis and Carteret were not more cheering. The former concludes his disheartening description in these words: "Thus we quitted a dreary and inhospitable region where we were in almost continual danger of shipwreck for nearly four months; a region where in the midst of summer the weather was cold, gloomy, and tempestuous, where the prospects had more the appearance of chaos than of nature, and where for the most part the valleys were without herbage, and the hills without wood."*

Captain Stokes soon felt the depressing influence of the ungenial sky which canopies the wild seas and barbarous shores of the remote country wherein he was appointed to discharge his professional labours. He ran along the western coast of Patagonia, and though constantly thwarted in his operations by boisterous weather, he succeeded in making a correct outline of the intricate channel. In Port Santa Barbara, he found embedded in the sand a beam of a large ship, which he concluded to be a remnant of the Wager, one of Lord Anson's fleet, the loss of which and subsequent sufferings of the crew, are well known to every reader of maritime discovery. Being himself opposed by the same warring elements, this memorial of their fatal power was little calculated to sustain his spirits, which had already begun to droop. Surrounded by dangers, and rendered doubly anxious by his zealous desire to execute the task intrusted to him, his mind at length sank under the load of care. He grew listless and dejected, and in a few days after his return to Port Fa-

* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. Ships Adventure and Beagle between the Years 1826 and 1836, describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America, and the Beagle's Circumnavigation of the Globe, vol. i. p. 10.

mine put an end to his life. At the time when this melancholy event took place, the crews were suffering severely from scurvy, a disease brought on by the gloom and severity of the climate, and which could not be checked by the usual means, fresh meat and a vegetable diet. Dreading the evils that might arise from its farther progress, Captain King determined to proceed to Rio Janeiro, where Mr Fitzroy was appointed to the command of the Beagle.

The period already passed was not altogether spent in vain. Two great lakes were discovered, named Otway and Skyring, in compliment to the young officers who aided the labours of the commander, and which are situated on the northern side of the strait, in the angle made by its bend towards the south. They looked like "unfinished short-cuts" between the opposite seas. The first is about forty miles long from south-west to north-east, and twenty in width. The second is connected with it by a navigable canal about a mile broad, and stretches westward beyond the reach of the human eye. Unfavourable weather prevented the complete examination of their shores; but from an eminence it was seen that low land and a chain of lagoons intervene between the Strait of Magellan and the eastern end of Otway Water. Skyring Lake, it was subsequently discovered, is separated from the ocean, at its western extremity, by a barrier of mountains and glaciers hardly five miles broad. These inland seas border on the limits of the two distinct climates of Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego. On their north-eastern side were clear skies and grassy plains; in the opposite direction, they were encompassed by snowy peaks and gloomy forests.

While the Beagle was employed in surveying the remoter coasts of Tierra del Fuego, an incident occurred which was afterwards attended with interesting consequences. The master was sent in a whale-boat to examine the channels farther towards the east; and the natives, who it appears had secretly watched his motions, carried off his small vessel while the men were

asleep on the shore. Having at the same time lost nearly all his provisions, and being in constant dread of an attack from his wily enemy, he resolved to make known to the captain, with as little delay as possible, the precarious condition of the party. For this purpose, there was prepared a diminutive canoe made of twigs, and in the shape of a basket; lined inside with clay and covered outside with bark. In this frail vehicle two men embarked, and after paddling with the greatest exertion a day and a night, they succeeded in reaching the gun-brig. Measures were immediately adopted to rescue the crew of the stolen boat, and to pursue the thieves; but the chase, though continued several days, was fruitless, owing to the broken nature of the coast and the superior local knowledge of the fugitives. At length some of the savages were seized, and made to understand that they would be detained as prisoners until the boat should be restored. Those on shore, however, showed no disposition to ransom their friends at so high a rate; and nearly all the captives contrived to escape by leaping overboard and swimming to the beach. Thus, the only hostages conveyed to the Beagle were a little girl, eight years old, who, from the adventure of the canoe just described, was named "Fuegia Basket," and a lad of nineteen called "Boat Memory." To these were subsequently added a young man taken on board near the promontory of York Minster, from which he was named, and a boy who, in allusion to the price paid for him, was called Jemmy Button.

These four individuals arrived safely in England when the Adventure and Beagle returned from the survey towards the close of the year 1830. Without delay they were placed in the Royal Hospital at Plymouth, there to await the first onset of European diseases; but notwithstanding the friendly care which watched over them all, Boat Memory died of the small-pox. The others having passed safely through this ordeal, were placed by Captain Fitzroy at Walthamstow, near London, in order that they might receive some education.

In the following summer, the king expressed a desire to see the Fuegians, and they were accordingly taken to St James' Palace. His majesty asked a great deal about their country as well as themselves, and also in regard to the main object of the expedition in which the two ships had been engaged during the four years they had been at sea. Queen Adelaide also honoured the strangers by her presence, and by acts of true kindness which they fully appreciated and never forgot. She left the room in which they were for a minute, and returned with one of her own bonnets, which she put upon the girl's head. Her majesty then put one of her rings upon Fuegia's finger, and gave her a sum of money to buy an outfit of clothes when she should leave England to return to her own country.

The circumnavigation of the globe by the Beagle, which was recommissioned under Captain Fitzroy, properly begins in December 1831, when he again left the shores of Britain. On his arrival at the southern point of America, the three natives soon manifested the effects of civilisation on their minds, and the contempt with which it had inspired them for their own hordes. York Minster laughed heartily at the first he saw, calling them large monkeys; and Jemmy Button declared that they were not at all like his people, who were very good and very clean. Fuegia was shocked and ashamed; she hid herself and would not look at them a second time. "It was," says the captain, "interesting to observe the change which three years only had made in their ideas, and to notice how completely they had forgotten the appearance and habits of their former associates; for it turned out that Jemmy's own tribe was as inferior in every way as the worst of those whom he and York called monkeys—fools—and not men." It was found that the former had even forgotten his native language.*

With the view of extending amongst the aborigines

* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of H. M. Ships Adventure and Beagle, vol. ii. p. 203.

the knowledge of letters, and preparing them for the introduction of the gospel, a missionary named Matthews embarked in the Beagle; who, notwithstanding the savage manners of the people, their propensity to theft, and the small value they set on human life, was willing to remain at the small settlement of Woolÿa. But he was no sooner left alone, though for a very brief interval, than he apprehended that in his case robbery would pave the way for murder; that his property, in short, presented a temptation too strong to be resisted. He told the captain that he did not think himself safe among such a set of utter savages as he found them to be, notwithstanding Jemmy's assurances to the contrary. No violence indeed had been committed upon him beyond holding down his head by force, as if in contempt of his strength; but he had been harshly threatened by several men, and from the signs used by them he felt convinced they would take his life. They contrived that he should have no peace by day and very little rest at night. Some of their number constantly seized an opportunity to run off with a tool or article of clothing, and those whose demands he opposed alarmed him with fearful threatenings. More than one man left the wigwam in a rage, and returned immediately with a large stone in his hand, making signs that he would kill him if he did not comply with his wish. Fortunately for Matthews, the most valuable of his things were hidden under ground in a cave unsuspected by the natives, and the large tools were placed in a small loft under the roof of his hut. York and Fuegia, it is added, fared very well; they lost nothing, but Jemmy was miserably plundered even by his own family. A garden on which the seamen had bestowed much pains, and furnished with European seeds and plants, was trampled down by the savages, though Button had done all in his power to prevent this damage, by explaining the object of the culture bestowed upon the spot of ground by their benevolent visiters. "When questioned about it, he looked very sorrowful, and with

a slow shake of the head said, 'My people very bad—great fool—know nothing at all—very great fool.'" The missionary, with undisguised satisfaction, conveyed himself and his remaining property on board the Beagle, waiting till a more auspicious period should arrive for conveying into those dark regions the blessing of religious knowledge.

After the lapse of a year Woolÿa was revisited by Captain Fitzroy, on which occasion the dwellings were found deserted, and apprehensions were felt for the safety of their owners. These fears were indeed soon dispelled by the appearance of Jemmy Button in a canoe, no longer combed and well clothed, but naked like his savage companions, with only a small skin round his loins, his hair long and matted, and his whole appearance most miserable. It was gratifying, however, to observe that he had lost only the outward ornaments of his person, and still preserved the more estimable gifts which respected the mind. His knowledge of the English language, his decent manners, and his grateful sense of past benefits, had suffered no diminution. He had prepared a fine otter-skin for Captain Fitzroy, and other presents for his friends in England: he was in good health, and contented with his lot. The desertion of Woolÿa was occasioned by the appearance of some of the hostile tribes from the north-east; and an islet at a little distance, now named Button Island in the charts, offered the fugitives a safe retreat. York had long meditated a return into his own country farther west, and for that purpose he had laboured incessantly at the construction of a large canoe. This being completed, he persuaded Jemmy to accompany him with all his clothes and other property. They proceeded westward along the Beagle channel till they came to Minster's tribe, when Jemmy falling asleep in his canoe, the others stripped him of all he possessed and disappeared. It is not quite certain that this act of dishonesty was premeditated by York, or even committed by his hands; but it must not be forgotten

that he was of mature age when brought to this country, and it could not be expected that his savage dispositions would be altogether changed by his short residence among civilized men. It is pleasant to find that Fuegia continued to the last to be well clothed and cleanly; a proof that she was not disposed to relapse into barbarous habits, and also that the naked wretches by whom she was every where encompassed had too much respect for her to use compulsion.

Indeed, there is good reason to believe that the seed sown, however scanty in amount and unfavourable the soil into which it was cast, will not altogether fail to produce its proper fruits. Even in reference to Jemmy, it was generally remarked that, before the Beagle left the shores of South America, his family were become considerably more humanized than those of the aborigines who had been seen in the same desolate tract of earth; that they put confidence in the English seamen; were pleased to see them return; that they were ready to do what they understood to be for their interest; and, in short, that their confidence was gained, and the first step to civilisation undoubtedly made. An individual with such limited means as he possessed could not, in so short a time, have possibly gone farther. "I cannot," says the captain, "help still hoping that some benefit, however slight, may result from the intercourse of these people, Jemmy, York, and Fuegia, with other natives of Tierra del Fuego. Perhaps a shipwrecked seaman may hereafter receive help and kind treatment from Jemmy Button's children; prompted, as they can hardly fail to be, by the traditions they will have heard of men of other lands, and by an idea, however faint, of their duty to God as well as their neighbour." That Jemmy felt sincere gratitude is proved, not only by his present of the otter-skin, but also by his asking Captain Fitzroy to carry a bow and quiver filled with arrows to the schoolmaster of Walthamstow, with whom he had lived; by his having made two spear-heads expressly for Mr Darwin; and by the unfeigned pleasure with which he

hailed the return of his English friends to the deserted village of Woolÿa.*

It appears from the scientific labours of the naturalist, that the laws in regard to temperature which regulate the distribution of heat in the high northern latitudes of the two great continents, do not produce the same results towards the Arctic Ocean. The western side of South America presents, indeed, the strongest possible contrast with the eastern, but in this case the manifestation of the general principle is completely reversed. The dry plains of Patagonia enjoy clear skies throughout the year, and in summer are exceedingly hot; but beyond the mountains which bound them on the west the scene is totally changed. The narrow strip of western coast is broken by numerous inlets, which penetrate quite through the Cordillera, here attaining a height of seven thousand feet. The ramifications of these inlets terminate in immense glaciers, one of which was found to have an extent of twenty-one miles in length. Beneath the perpetual snows, and between the promontories of consolidated ice, grow impenetrable forests. Constant rains, pouring down from skies ever loaded with clouds, have covered the islands and sides of the hills with a dense mass of vegetation, which towards the south resembles that of Tierra del Fuego; but as the navigator approaches Chiloe, he sees woods incomparably more beautiful, and the dusky beech giving way to plants of a tropical character. At Valdivia, where the climate undergoes remarkable modifications, the trees present a still brighter hue. The apple, introduced from Europe, has here attached itself to the soil, and spread over the elevated plains towards the sources of the Rio Negro. Beyond Valdivia, the forests on the coast become gradually thinner; but on the sides of the Cordillera, woods of the noble Araucanian pine, yielding to the natives a valuable article of food, extend as far north as the volcano of Antuco. Through northern Chili, trees disappear from

* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages, vol. ii. pp. 326, 327.

both sides of the Andes; a few scattered trees on the eastern slopes alone give intimation of the approaching change. But in Peru the order of things is the reverse of that which obtains in the latitude of Patagonia. On the western side of the mountain-chain is the desert, whereas on the east are boundless and impenetrable forests. No rain falls on the coast of Peru, while in the valley of Maynas, on the other side, it never ceases, and one place in it is said to be visited by a thunder-storm every day in the year.

It is pleasing to observe, from the narrative of Captain Fitzroy, that many beneficial changes are going forward on both sides of the South American continent, produced by the capital and energy of Englishmen. They improve the farms in Uruguay; they cultivate gardens in the pampas, and on the hills of Tandil, southwards of Buenos Ayres; and they carry on nearly all the coasting trade. Pursuing the fishery, they despise the storms which rage in the Strait of Magellan, and penetrate the narrow channels of Tierra del Fuego. In Chili, they have turned into good metal the copper ores which the native miners had always regarded as dross. On the great table-land of Curo Pasco, in Peru, they have made a vast increase to the comforts of the people by discovering coal and teaching its various uses. Two remarkable instances of the bold spirit characteristic of Britons are recorded by one of the historians of this interesting survey. Not far from Arica, on the coast of Peru, is an agreeable valley of great extent, but condemned to barrenness and solitude by want of water; to remedy which evil, a company of English merchants settled there have undertaken to conduct into it a never-failing spring from one of the highest points of the Cordillera. They have cut through a ridge exceeding fourteen thousand feet in height, and diverted across it a current originating in the glaciers. Though this magnificent work was not quite completed, there was no reason to doubt of its success.

The other instance of enlightened enterprise is per-

haps still more extraordinary. The great lake of Titicaca, in the Bolivian Andes, had never been navigated except in small canoes, though encircled by a productive soil and considerable population. Situated within the mountains, more than eleven thousand feet above the ocean, and at a great distance from any forest, the construction of a substantial vessel on its shores could hardly have been imagined. An Englishman, nevertheless, who had once been a carpenter in one of our dockyards, set all difficulties at defiance. He shaped the timbers in a wood seven leagues in the interior; put them together on the border of the inland sea; and at length launched on its waters a handsome schooner, which he now navigates, to the great admiration of the inhabitants, who had never expected to witness such a triumph of perseverance, courage, and ingenuity.

Leaving the American coast, the Beagle sailed westward, with the view of visiting some of the principal groups in the Pacific, and more especially the Society Islands. A short time previously an act of piracy had been committed on an English ship, the Truro, in a part of the dominions of Queen Pomare, the sovereign of Otaheite. She had agreed to pay a sum of money as an indemnification for the loss thereby inflicted on the English, amounting to 2853 dollars. Captain Fitzroy, at an interview with her majesty and several of the chiefs, asked whether her engagement had been fulfilled. Taati, who appears to have held the place of prime-minister, replied, that neither the money nor an equivalent had been given. Upon being interrogated whether any unforeseen accident had prevented the queen from acting up to her intentions, and whether she still meant to fulfil her promise, the leading men replied, that they did not understand distinctly how and to whom payment was to be made; declaring, at the same time, that it was their wish to discharge the debt, and even to remove all doubt as to the manner of fulfilling their obligation. The captain then reminded Pomare of the solemn nature of her agreement; of the loss of char-

acter which she and her government would sustain; and of the means which England might eventually adopt to recover the property so nefariously taken away from British subjects.

These words seemed to produce a suitable effect. Much argumentative discussion occupied the more respectable natives as well as the chiefs, while the queen sat in silence. They soon decided to pay the debt at once. Thirty-six tons of pearl-oyster shells, belonging to her majesty, and then lying at Papiete, were to form part of the equivalent; the remainder was to be collected among her friends. Taati stepped forth into the midst of the assembly and harangued the audience in a forcible though humorous manner, in order to induce them to subscribe. The captain requested that the innocent inhabitants of Otaheite might not be made to suffer for the misconduct of the bad people in the Low Islands, who had committed the crime; assuring the chiefs that a document signed by the queen and themselves would be more satisfactory to him than immediate payment, if effected by distressing those of her subjects who were in no way to blame. The minister replied, "The honour of the queen is our honour. We will share her difficulties. Her friends prefer assisting her in paying off this debt to leaving her conduct exposed to censure. We have determined to unite in her cause, and will endeavour to pay all before the departure of the man-of-war."

It appears that the master and mate of the Truro had been murdered; that the assassins were tried and condemned by the laws of Otaheite; and that Pomare had exercised the royal prerogative in granting them a pardon. The captain reminded her, that though as sovereign she had the right to grant forgiveness, the propriety of such conduct on her part was very doubtful, and that it would not tend to diminish the effect of a report injurious to her character, which she was aware had been very generally circulated. At this moment one of her attendants observed, that they also had cause of complaint against the English, and that no attention

had been paid to it, though formally communicated to the proper authorities. He then added, in a temperate though feeling manner, "Does it not appear hard to require our queen to pay so large a sum as 2853 dollars out of her small income, while that which is due to her, only 390 dollars, a mere trifle to Great Britain, has not obtained even an acknowledgment from the English government?"*

* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages, vol. ii. p. 535. The letter alluded to by the Otaheitan secretary is as follows, and is in every point of view a curious document.

"Our friend, the King of Great Britain, and all persons in office under your government, may you all be saved by the true God!

"The following is the petition of Pomare, of the governors, and of the chiefs of Otaheite. A whale-ship belonging to London has been at Otaheite: Venilia is the name of the ship; Miner is the name of the captain. This ship has disturbed the peace of the government of Queen Pomare the First. We consider this ship a disturber of the peace, because the captain has turned on shore thirteen of his men against the will of the governor of this place and other persons in office. The governor of this district made known the law clearly. The captain of the ship objected to the law, and said he would not regard the law. We then became more resolute: the governor said to the chiefs, 'friends, chiefs of the land, we must have a meeting.' The chiefs assembled on the twenty-second day of December 1831. The governor ordered a man to go for the captain of the ship. When he had arrived on shore, the governor appointed a man to be speaker for him. The speaker said to the captain of the ship, 'friend, here are your men, take them and put them on board of your ship; it is not agreeable to us that they should remain upon our land.' The captain said, 'I will not by any means receive them again, no not on any account whatever! I will not on any account again receive these bad men, these mutineers.'"

It was at length agreed, through the good offices of Captain Hill, an English officer who was present, that Miner should pay to the native government three hundred and ninety dollars, as a fine or compensation. But the contract was not fulfilled, and therefore the chiefs informed the master of the Venilia that they would write to the British government, entreating that the business might be investigated, and assistance afforded to them. The document accordingly proceeds:—

"This is the substance of what we have to say—We entreat you, the British government, to help us in our troubles. Punish this Captain Miner, and command the owners of the Venilia to pay us three hundred and ninety dollars for thirteen of their men they left on our land; and also to send the wages of a native man who was employed to supply the whole crew with bread-fruit while at anchor

The queen has had other evils to combat, not confined to countries in the first stage of civilisation. Some time ago a few Roman Catholic missionaries arrived in her dominions from the Sandwich Islands, but, at the suggestion of Mr Pritchard, they were compelled to withdraw. In consequence of this rather violent measure, the French consul represented the conduct of her majesty in such a light to the captain of a man-of-war who soon afterwards anchored on the coast, that a large sum of money was demanded in satisfaction of the insult, and Pomare, having no means of resistance, was obliged to pay the amount. Such measures cannot fail to impede the progress of christianity, because the natives, simple as they are, must needs perceive that the religion which teaches peace to others does not establish harmony among those who profess it with the greatest zeal. The Protestant leaders in Otaheite were apprehensive that the doctrines of the Roman church would obtain a

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here.—We wish to live in peace, and behave well to the British flag, which we consider our real friend and special protection. We also wish that you would put in office a man like Captain Hill, and send him to Otaheite as a representative of the King of Great Britain, that he may assist us. If this should not be agreeable to you, we pray you to give authority to the Reverend George Pritchard, the missionary at this station.

"This is the conclusion of what we have to say. Peace be with you. May you be in a flourishing condition, and may the reign of the beloved King of Great Britain be long. Written at Otaheite on the sixth day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-two.

On behalf of POMARE the Queen,

(Signed by) ARAAPA, Chief Secretary.
ARUPACA, District Governor.
TEPAU, District Governor.
TCHORO, one of the seven Supreme Judges.
MARE, a District Judge."

Addition.—"We much wish that a British ship-of-war would come frequently to Otaheite, to take to their own lands these bad foreigners who trouble us. It is useless for us to depend upon the consul at the Sandwich Islands. We have long known that we can obtain no assistance from him. We wish to do our duty to you Britons. You are powerful and rich; but we are like weak children."—The British government, who seem not to have replied to this letter, afterwards appointed Mr Pritchard to act as consul for the Society and Friendly Islands.

greater influence, and agree better with the disposition of the people than the stricter discipline in which they had been hitherto held. It is at all events quite manifest, that unless preventive measures are taken by the governments in Europe, religious strife and internal warfare may again be caused in the Society Islands, even by those whose aim is the improvement and highest welfare of the inhabitants. A remarkable bitterness of feeling already prevails, which is not likely to be diminished by the current of recent events.

Various facts are mentioned by Captain Fitzroy, which afford the most pleasing evidence that the light of divine truth has not been communicated altogether in vain to the inhabitants of the South Sea Islands. At Otaheite, for example, the whole people have solemnly resolved to abstain from drinking intoxicating liquors; and so sincere are they in this resolution, that a short time since, when they heard of a small vessel lying in their harbour which had on board a cask of rum, which the master intended to sell to some of the residents, they thought it their duty to destroy the dangerous fluid. Mr Pritchard had preserved a bottle of brandy for medical purposes, a fact which came to the knowledge of several of his catechumens, and excited some discussion as to the propriety of any distinction in persons or objects. To satisfy their scruples, he poured out the spirits on the ground before their eyes. "Among the natives of Otaheite," says the captain, "let us not overlook the sons and daughters of the earlier missionaries. Those whom we had the pleasure of seeing did credit to the country of their parents, to Otaheite, and to those excellent persons who must have taken such pains with their education."

After visiting the Keeling Islands, New Zealand, and Australia, respecting which stations of incipient civilisation the "Narrative" contains much interesting information, the commander of the Beagle turned his face towards Europe, where he arrived in October 1836, after an absence of four years and nine months. In this long voyage, rather exceeding that of Vancouver,

fatal disease was unknown. Between the months of February 1832, when the ship was commissioned, and November 1836, when she was paid off, no serious illness, contracted while on service, happened on board; neither did any casualty occur involving the loss of life. "The freedom from illness must be attributed," says Captain Fitzroy, "under Providence, to active employment, good clothing, and wholesome food, in healthy though sometimes disagreeable climates; and our immunity from accident during exposure to a variety of risks, especially in boats, I attribute, referring to visible causes, to the care, attention, and vigilance of the excellent officers whose able assistance was not valued by me more than their sincere friendship."*

Chronometrical observations were made a chief object of the circumnavigation accomplished by the Beagle, on board of which were no fewer than twenty-two time-pieces; and care was taken to rate them frequently, where change of climate seemed to render that precaution necessary. The series of distances thus measured in time round the globe, amounted altogether to twenty-four hours and thirty-three seconds, instead of twenty-four hours exactly. This error, the captain suggests, may be attributable to magnetism, or electricity, or some other latent cause operating on the instruments, carried in one direction round the earth. But so slight a discrepancy must appear quite explicable without the aid of any mysterious agency. The distances which are added together and make the sum total, are themselves only averages or mean amounts, and therefore mere approximations. The error of thirty-three seconds, or little more than half a minute, is very small indeed, compared to the several errors incident to the details; and it is, in fact, a great triumph to science to be able to state that, in a voyage of five years, the circuit of the globe, measured by the chronometers, differed from the truth by an amount so extremely minute.

* Narrative of the Surveying Voyages, vol. ii. p. 639.

CHAPTER VII.

Meyen, Wilson, Belcher, and Ross.

Meyen, as Surgeon of the Princess Louisa, sails to South America—Ascends several Heights in the Andes—The Grand Pampa described—Volcanic Phenomena—Agitation of the Sea—Visits Sandwich Islands—John Adams, the Governor of Oahu—Proceeds to China—Feast at the House of Mowqua—Wilson sails to New Holland as Surgeon of the Governor Ready—His Remarks on Port Raffles—Object of Settlement—Scenery on Swan River—King George's Sound and Neighbourhood—Inhabitants of Murray's Island differ from other Natives of New Holland—Captain Beechey and Mr Kellett proceed in the Sulphur and Starling to the Western Coast of South America—The former is relieved by Captain Sir Edward Belcher—Details of a minute Survey of the Pacific Shore of that great Continent—Sir Edward makes an Excursion into the Mountains—Sails to Sandwich Islands—Discussion with the Native Government—Mr Bingham rebuked—Death of the King's Aunt—Funeral—Comparative View of the State of Society at Owhyhee—Minute Examination of the Columbia River—Fort George or Astoria—Fort Vancouver—Disputes between British and Americans—Experiment at Bow Island—Steers for Otaheite—Bad Conduct of the Queen's Husband—Improvement at Rarotonga—Fijees little changed—Ships ordered to China—Account of the Sechelles Islands—Antarctic Expedition—Magnetic Experiments continued—Discovery of Victoria Land—A lofty Mountain—Highest Latitude hitherto attained by any European Navigator—Jeopardy of the Erebus and Terror—Magnetic Results recorded—Renewed Attempt to penetrate to the Southward—Return to Cape of Good Hope.

The volumes of Dr Meyen, surgeon of a Prussian merchant-ship, are chiefly valuable for the scientific information they contain, especially in regard to the varied surface of South America, which he examined with the

eye of a naturalist. The vessel in which he embarked, named the Princess Louisa, touched at Rio Janeiro, Valparaiso, Copiapo, Arica, Yslay, and Callao; afterwards sailed to the Sandwich Islands, thence to Canton and Manilla, and finally returned to Europe by the Cape of Good Hope. His journeys among the mountains are extremely interesting. From Santiago he travelled southward to San Fernando, the capital of the province of Conchagua, from whence he visited the Andes, and ascended Monte Impossibile. The plain ascends suddenly to a considerable elevation, at which it continues, without any perceptible change, to the very foot of the Cordillera. The mountains then rise with great steepness, forming in some places walls of sienite upwards of a thousand feet in height and almost perpendicular. On their summits occur plains of small extent; the lower portions of them, where the declivity is not too steep, being covered with forest trees, and the higher parts with shrubs. Only the middle of the chain of the Andes consists of bare rocky masses, which rise nearly to the snow line. In the month of February, indeed, one of the hottest months in that latitude, the Monte Impossibile was covered with snow.

Meyen attempted to ascend the volcano of Arequipa, but could not attain its summit, being seized with the sorocko. The party were tormented with a burning thirst which no drink could quench; a slice of watermelon or garlic was the only thing they could relish, but still they continued to ascend. They were already near the little ridge which extends south-west from the summit of the mountain, when their strength failed them, and they were overpowered by the disease. The nervous feverishness under which they had suffered from the first had been gradually becoming worse and worse; their breathing became more and more oppressed; fainting, sickness, giddiness, and bleeding at the nose came on; and in this condition they lay a considerable time, till the symptoms became milder from repose, and they were able to descend slowly.

The Grand Pampa, which separates what may be termed the subordinate mountains of the Cordilleras from the principal range, and runs along the coast, is an elevated sand-waste, showing no sign of rocks nor of any description of life, animal or vegetable. But uniform as this desert might appear, he visited few regions on the whole journey which in his eyes proved more interesting. When he had reached the table-land, which may be about two thousand feet above the level of the sea, the immense chain of the Andes was seen towards the east with the highest points veiled in clouds. As the morning advanced the summits were successively illumined by the rising sun, and their eternal snows reflected a ruddy light, whilst he and his party rode forward in the deepest gloom. As the sun mounted higher in the sky, the western ridge of the Great Pampa was bathed in his beams; clouds of misty vapour appeared, resembling a sea, and out of these rose lofty ranges of mountains with precipitous ascents. The phenomenon was so peculiar that they thought they saw the ocean brought nearer to them, and on it a reflection of the Cordillera chain. But in proportion as the sun ascended above the elevated horizon, those strata of vapour rose with it; the bases of the heights came forth, their summits vanished, and at length burst forth unbroken chains of vast height, stretching all along the coast, and bounding the Great Pampa to the west.

Still more remarkable is the surface of the waste already mentioned. Every where the sand is collected in regular heaps having the shape of a sickle, standing at different distances from each other, and uniformly ranged with their concave sides to the south-west. The circumference of these heaps varies from twenty to seventy paces, and their height from seven to fifteen feet. Thousands of such hillocks cover the plain as far as the eye can reach; and what is most singular, no little pile, or commencement of an accumulation, is any where to be seen. There is no doubt that a prevailing wind, constantly blowing in one direction, has caused this singular

appearance; and the gathering of new heaps ceases so soon as all the loose sand has been blown together. "Can the climate have changed? Does the wind which caused these formations blow no longer?"*

The nature of the country, consisting of materials which may be clearly traced to a volcanic origin, gives rise to other phenomena of which the navigator ought not to remain ignorant. For example, it is known that on the coast of northern Chili, as well as along the shores of Peru, an undulating movement of the sea frequently takes place, the cause of which has not been fully discovered. Dr Meyen states that when lying in the harbour of Copiapo, during the night and in the most entire calm, the ship rocked so violently as to render the sensation produced by it quite intolerable. At other places, even south of Arica, when the wind was perfectly still, he has seen waves thirty or forty feet high. It is known that on the western coast of South America the ebb and flood are very trifling, and at a short distance from the land quite imperceptible, so that, even at the full moon, the 'rolling of the sea,' as it is called in those countries, cannot be ascribed to the tide. It has, indeed, been attributed to the influence of the lunar orb, and it has even been maintained that this agitation occurs only when the moon is full. But, in opposition to this theory, the author asserts that the greatest rolling he ever witnessed took place during the last quarter; from which, says he, it may be asserted that the "moon is not the cause of it." He is rather disposed to maintain that the great flow of cold water which sets in from the south-west, and touches the Peruvian coast in the breadth of Arequipa, is the source whence this motion of the sea takes its rise.

Having steered for the Sandwich Islands, the crew of the Princess Louisa received a visit from the governor

* In the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, vol. vi. p. 376, it is mentioned that L. Pottinger "found a very similar kind of sand-hills, covering a considerable portion of the great desert of Beloochistan."

of Oahu, who, it is generally known, had assumed the name of John Adams. The giant size and unshapely figure of this man astonished the Prussians exceedingly. His body was so large and so unmanageable that he could not remain standing for a moment, but was obliged to sit down or lean against something. Not being able to climb up the side of the ship, he was drawn up by means of a rope fastened round his waist; and when at last he had set foot on deck, he looked round with the greatest indifference, and hardly opened his mouth to address any one. "The huge marked face, with its dark red coarse skin and thick protruding lips, gave the man a hideous aspect." The doctor, whose notions of the Sandwich group had been derived from the volumes of the early voyagers, appears to have sustained some degree of disappointment; for he heard "no tidings either of the canoes or the swimming nymphs that in former days revelled so joyfully around foreign ships." There was no longer any talk of buying for nails or bits of iron, nor of exchanges for old articles of dress: money, Spanish silver coin, was the only thing for which the inhabitants would consent to deal.

The expedition left Honoruru on the 22d July 1831, and arrived on the coast of China about the middle of the following January. The attention received by the Prussians left no ground for complaint. A few days before their departure from Canton they found at their residence a visiting card from Mowqua, and an invitation to dinner along with it. About half-past six in the evening they presented themselves at his house; servants with large lanterns preceded them, and quantities of cotton were provided to fortify the drums of their ears against the stunning effect of the Chinese music. As the guests entered they were saluted by the host and his son, and amidst a profusion of compliments, conducted quite up to the chairs in the reception room. The attire of the merchant and his family was splendid in an extraordinary degree; and young Mowqua, in particular, wore over all his silk coats and vests a cloak of

the costliest furs. They kept their velvet caps with knobs constantly upon their heads, and the magnificent tufts gave them a dignified mien. The furniture was also very costly, amongst which was observed a large mirror of English manufacture; but as the master of the establishment desired not to attract attention to his use of European articles, he had caused the plate to be fixed in an ordinary and very clumsy native frame.

During the six hours that the entertainment continued, "many hundreds of dishes were served up," an opera was performed, and a full band added thundering music to assist the digestion of the company. But in China, as in all other rich commercial countries, squalid poverty walks hand in hand with luxury and ostentation. The people at large, in the populous city of Canton, eat almost every thing which comes to hand. In the streets and especially the large square in front of the factories, a number of birds are daily exposed for sale, including hawks, owls, eagles, and storks, as well as some others which in the European section of the globe have not obtained any reputation for flavour. To a native of London or Berlin, nothing could have a more ludicrous effect than to see a rustic entering either town, carrying across his shoulders two cages which, instead of winged animals, contained only dogs and cats. A small thin sort of spaniel appeared to be most in request: these sit quite downcast in their temporary dwellings when brought to market, whilst the cats, as if conscious of their fate, make a dreadful squalling. The flesh of these last, when they are well fed, is much esteemed, and they are often seen on the tables of the rich. Rats are also exposed to the eye of the hungry mechanic, hung in rows like pigs in our country, quite clean, and presenting, it is said, rather an inviting aspect.

Considering the profession of the author, the reader of his volumes has not, perhaps, a right to expect any addition to our knowledge of hydrography, the discovery of new lands, the exploration of remote bays, or the determination of geographical positions. It is chiefly

in the department of natural history that the voyage of the Princess Louisa has conferred any obligation upon the curious and the philosophical in the enlightened parts of Europe. His researches in the Andes, performed with resolution and perseverance, constitute the most fascinating part of his book; because, while they present many new facts, they are nowhere clouded or rendered suspicious by an undue bias towards a favourite theory as to the character of the geological phenomena, which, in those elevated regions, manifest themselves with all the tokens of recent power belonging to the elements whence they derive their immediate origin. Dr Meyen completed his circumnavigation by returning to Europe in a western course from the Philippines, touching at the Cape of Good Hope and St Helena.

The next narrative of a voyage round the world is also from the pen of a medical gentleman, the surgeon of a transport, named the Governor Ready. This vessel, bound to New South Wales, with a detachment of male convicts on board, of which he had a professional charge, was wrecked on her return in Torres Straits, whence the crew with some difficulty reached the island of Timor, after sailing in their boats a distance of more than thirteen hundred miles. There he met the colonial brig Amity, attached to the settlement of Port Raffles on the northern coast of Australia; and embarking in her, he successively visited that establishment and the infant colonies of Swan River and King George's Sound. Having completed a coasting voyage round the upper and western shores of New Holland, he proceeded to Van Diemen's Land, whence he returned to Great Britain by the southern point of Africa and St Helena. The real interest of his pages is confined to the Australian provinces, where he partook of several adventures, and collected some valuable knowledge both as to the character of the residents, and the prospects of the British dominions in that part of the world.

In reference to Port Raffles, he remarks, that the appearance of the land in the neighbourhood has been

compared by some to the coast of Orissa in Bengal, and by others to Demerara. The coast is exceedingly low, as it invariably is in that part of Australia, and in this respect it bears a resemblance to both the countries now mentioned; but as there is neither underwood nor jungle, there exists nothing of that pestilential evaporation, which on the shores of Asia and America has been found most destructive to human life. Though little above the level of the sea, the territory is decidedly healthy; while Timor, not much nearer the equator, although in many places exceedingly lofty, is justly dreaded as the grave of Europeans. The soil in the vicinity, he admits, cannot be called good, though there are many fertile patches; but the price of labour is still so high, that neither for agricultural nor pastoral purposes could it be cultivated with any advantage. He does not, however, justify the resolution of government to abandon it; nay, he maintains, "it is deeply to be deplored that these shores should have been thus deserted after so much expense had been incurred, after all the difficulties attending a new settlement had been overcome, and pleasing prospects of future prosperity had opened into view."

The principal object in forming a settlement on the northern coast of New Holland was to establish a commercial intercourse with the various islands in the Indian archipelago, and which, it was imagined, might be accomplished by means of the Malays who annually frequent those shores in considerable numbers, for the purpose of procuring trepang. Nor is it only to such intercourse with the Chinese and Malayan traders that it would owe its importance; there being many other circumstances which would greatly add to the advantage of a colony on Torres Straits. Ships proceeding to India from the eastern coast would find it extremely convenient for repairs, as well as a place of refuge from the storms which occasionally rage in those seas. Regarded, indeed, in every point of view, there cannot be any doubt that, both in its mercantile and political

relations, it would, in the hands of Europeans, soon acquire a degree of consequence more than equal to all the expense attending its protection in the early stages of its existence.*

The scenery on the Swan River, on which is built the small town of Perth, is described as being singularly agreeable. To the southward, it is said, the view is exceedingly picturesque, even rivalling that of the far-famed lake of Killarney. This spot is intended for suburban villas; and if the eye of the traveller, long accustomed to the monotony of the "melancholy main," did not deceive him, it seems well adapted for such a purpose. The banks of the river, too, above the settlement, present a most verdant and fertile aspect; and it was found that the alluvial soil extended from two to twelve hundred yards towards the interior. It does not appear, however, that the land, generally speaking, is productive, or likely to suit the purposes of the agriculturist. Like the whole eastern portion of Australia, it is much better adapted to the less complicated occupations of the shepherd, who, between the shore and the Darling Range, will find at once good pasture for his flocks and a safe retreat for them during bad weather. There is little prospect that trade will ever be promoted by means of water conveyance. The Swan is navigable only for very small vessels near its junction with the ocean; while the Conning and the Helena, which fall into it, are subject to similar impediments, owing to want of water during the greater part of the year, and a multitude of islets which embarrass its course. The length of the principal stream in a direct line is about thirty miles, though, when the windings are included, it may be said to run at least double that distance. But

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, comprehending an Account of the Wreck of the Ship "Governor Ready" in Torres Straits; a Description of the British Settlements on the Coasts of New Holland, more particularly Raffles Bay, Melville Island, Swan River, and King George's Sound, &c. By T. B. Wilson, M.D., Surgeon, R.N.—P. 174.

even in the most favourable light the facilities of this river must be pronounced overrated when it is maintained that "vessels of large burden are enabled to sail seventy miles from its entrance."

King George's Sound was likewise visited by Dr Wilson, who also with some friends made an excursion into the neighbouring wilds, which they found to possess considerable capabilities. At one place they encamped on the northern side of a beautiful valley, extending east and west as far as the eye could reach, and bounded on either side by a succession of gently undulating hills, ornamented by trees of gigantic form scattered over their surface. After travelling nearly seventy miles in a direction towards the north and west, they still found themselves in a country well adapted either for pastoral or agricultural purposes; and no doubt was entertained that soil of similar qualities extended to a great distance in the same line of march. As to the condition of the inhabitants, no alteration appears to have taken place since the days of Vancouver. Their dwellings are still the same; bearing an exact resemblance to a bee-hive cut vertically into two parts. In one of their encampments, which seem to be periodically deserted, a love-token was found by a native servant, consisting of a lock of hair interwoven with some net-work. This, he stated, must have been hidden by some young woman; adding, that it was the business of the enamoured swain to find it out, when he would be rewarded for his assiduity by the favour of his mistress. If this explanation be correct, it proves that the aborigines of this district, if not more civilized, are at all events more romantic in their courtship than their brethren in the vicinity of Port Jackson. These last steal by ambush on the objects of their affection, beat them senseless with a club, and then drag them off by the hair of the head in triumph to their own party.

It is remarked by the author that the inhabitants of Murray's Island, though very near the northern coast

of Australia, are totally distinct from the natives of that continent, to whom in every respect they are far superior. They have been usually esteemed treacherous, daring, and deceitful; but he declares, that though he found them to be, like all other savages, very prone to thieving, they were not otherwise ill disposed. In conducting their traffic they manifested great caution and even some degree of suspicion, which, he remarks, shows that they must have been cheated in former dealings with Europeans.

This voyage, as already stated, owes its chief interest to the information collected by the officers of the different ships in which Dr Wilson served, relative to the rising colonies on the various shores and inlets of Australia. In the other parts of the world which he visited during his circumnavigation he had no opportunity of adding any thing new to the minute details supplied by professional navigators.

The survey which was successfully completed by Sir Edward Belcher, commenced in 1835 under the auspices of Captain Beechey, whose researches when in command of the Blossom are known to every one who takes any interest in maritime discovery. In the month of September, the Sulphur, a sloop-of-war, was commissioned by the latter of these distinguished officers, who, accompanied by the Starling, a smaller vessel under the direction of Lieutenant Kellett, left England in December, and in the course of the following season, having rounded Cape Horn, began the examination of the western shores of South America, at the point where the labours of the Adventure and Beagle terminated. At Valparaiso the health of the commodore became so bad that he felt himself compelled to relinquish his appointment and return home. Mr Kellett here succeeded him in the temporary command of the expedition, but, in February 1837, was relieved at Panama by Captain Belcher, who had crossed the Isthmus of Darien for that purpose. After some delay in that quarter, occasioned by the necessity of completing certain arrangements, the

two ships proceeded towards the north, touching at Realejo and Libertad in Central America. In June they reached San Blas, whence they sailed for the Sandwich Islands, where they came to anchor in the course of the ensuing month.

Port Etches in King William's Sound was the next destination of the little squadron; Point Riou and Port Mulgrave being chosen as the stations whence, considered as bases of trigonometrical calculation, might be determined the position of Mount St Elias, and the question of longitude settled between the varying results derived from the observations of Cook and Vancouver. The Sulphur then proceeded to Sitka or New Archangel in Norfolk Sound, where the officers received very courteous treatment from the Russian governor. She next visited Friendly Cove in Nootka Sound, and thence steered for San Francisco, where the examination of the river Sacramento, one hundred and fifty-six miles from her anchorage, occupied the surveying party, in open boats, thirty-one days. After this toilsome undertaking, Sir Edward successively repaired to Monterey, San Blas, Acapulco, and Libertad, on his way to Realejo; at which last place, for the recovery of his health, he made a journey into the principal mountains in the neighbourhood, and thereby obtained a view of the scene of his future investigations in the Gulf of Papagayo, and was at the same time enabled to define the principal features of the Lake of Managua to the point where it falls into that of Nicaragua. After inspecting the gulf just named and Port Culebra, he left Central America, touched at Cocos Islands, and in June 1838 reached Callao, where he remained some time for the purpose of refitting his ship and completing his stores. He next examined the coast between Cerro Azul, and Callao, to the extent of about sixty miles; when, calling at Payta and Guayaquil, he returned to Panama in October.

The succeeding four months were spent in the survey of the Gulfs of Fonseca and Nicoya, Puebla Nueva, and Baija Honda; after which Sir Edward moved north-

1837 wards, and repeated the cruise of 1837. He remained at the Columbia river till September. Bodega, the Russian position near Francisco, was then surveyed, and afterwards Santa Barbara, San Pedro, San Juan, San Diego, San Quentin, the Gulf of Magdalena, and Cape San Lucas. He then returned to San Blas and Mazatlan, where he found orders awaiting him directing his return homewards by the Cape of Good Hope. Having shipped supplies for fourteen months from a transport which had been sent to meet him, he commenced his voyage in a westerly course, touching at the islands of Socorro and Clarion, and fixing their position. He reached the Marquesas the same month, and, after a short visit to Port Anna Maria, moved on to Bow Island, where the operation was performed of boring for the volcanic foundation on which these coral groups are supposed to stand. The Sulphur now bore away for Otaheite, Rarotonga, Fijees, New Hebrides, New Ireland, Britannia Island, New Guinea, coasting that island to Arimoa and as far as Jobie, where she remained to rate and survey. Thence she proceeded to Amsterdam, Pigeon Island, Bouro, Amboyna, Macassar, Great Solombo, Pulo Kumpal on the Borneo shore, and reached Singapore in the month of October 1839. Here the captain found instructions directing him to sail instantly to China, where he took an active part in the operations which were about to be carried on against that empire. Near the close of 1841 he proceeded on his homeward voyage, touching in his progress at Malacca, Penang, Acheen, Sumatra, Ceylon, Sechelles, Madagascar, the Cape, St Helena, Ascension, and at length on the 19th July 1842 he cast anchor at
1842 Spithead, after an absence of more than six years.

The minute details incident to a survey including the bearings of every point, the depth of water in each inlet, the course and strength of the currents, the soundings on the various banks and bars, and the character or aspect of the barbarians who frequent the neighbouring shores, present so little which can prove interesting to readers not professional, that it would be inexpedient to

follow the path of the Sulphur from Valparaiso to King William's Sound. In the sketch already given of his successive cruises, it is mentioned that in the summer of 1837 Captain Belcher repaired to the Sandwich Islands, where, he informs his countrymen, he was solicited by the British consul to interpose his authority in a question raised against the native government, who had compelled a vessel called the Clementine, sailing under our flag, to enter the port of Honoruru, and receive on board as prisoners two French missionaries brought by her from California. The authorities at first had endeavoured to carry their object by bribing the master and owner; and finding this measure ineffectual, they next attempted force, when the consul advised that the colours should be struck and the brigantine abandoned.

This is apparently the case mentioned by Dr Ruschenberger, who also denounced the severities inflicted upon the priests at the instance of an American teacher, who, it is said, though he obviously controlled the governor, was hated by the civilized community, and in bad odour with the chiefs as well as the great body of the natives. The captain, after some solicitation, procured an interview at the house of Kuanoa, who received him with the honours due to his rank, and was prepared to hear his complaint in the presence of the whole missionary establishment. But he soon discovered that remonstrance was useless; that the influence of the preachers was predominant; and that the ruler of the island, in fact, was not a free agent. He therefore took leave to acquaint them that he must resort to stronger arguments, and instantly ordered the vessel to be recaptured, and the British colours to be again displayed on board of her. Mr Bingham, the leading missionary, then ventured to intimate that "blood would flow from this act;" upon which, says Sir Edward, "I most distinctly assured him that, having now ascertained his character, I should visit the threat on his own head, and that his life should answer for the first drop of British blood which his agency should cause to flow." It has been alleged that this

determined conduct greatly alarmed the wife of Kuanoa, who imagined that the menace had some reference to her, as the patroness of the protestant mission. The captain acknowledges that he did accompany the threat with his "clenched fist," but adds, it was totally false that any action of his towards Kinau could be so construed, as he felt too deeply for her situation to aggravate her fears. Meantime he landed the popish friars, and sent a message to the king who was then at Maui.

At this critical moment the French frigate La Venus made her appearance, being employed in those seas in scientific pursuits similar to those of the British expedition. The captain, Du Petit Thouars, requested that he might be allowed to act in conjunction, and on his landing, a fresh interview was requested and obtained; but finding the local government determined on maintaining their acts, in defiance of the combined remonstrances now made, they resolved to await the arrival of Tamehameha.

His majesty, contrary to the expectation of many, who considered him also as completely under the control of the teachers, was soon seen entering the bay, in a bark purchased from the Americans, and which mounted a few guns for the purpose of saluting. He consented to a meeting on the following day, but would not yield to their request that the missionaries should be excluded. When assembled, Mr Bingham took a seat whence he could command the eye of the king; but, it is remarked in the narrative, "the sharp glances of some of the officers of both ships were too powerful for him, and something very much allied to menace from one of the lieutenants of the Venus damped his ardour to such a degree, that he spent the remainder of the time with his head between his hands, nearly resting upon his knees." The result of the conference was so far favourable as to obtain permission for the two priests to remain unmolested until a convenient opportunity should occur for their reaching some civilized part of the globe; and an assurance was added, that the Clemen-

tine should not be injured or the crew annoyed. Before signing the documents, the king requested a private interview in the evening, when Sir Edward remained with him from seven till ten, discussing quietly the line of conduct he ought to pursue, and suggesting what polished nations expected of him. He expressed himself very much indebted for this visit of kindness, and observed, "If I had one who would advise with me as you do, occasionally, I should not get into so many difficulties."*

During the following season the English captain repeated his visit, when he found that Kinau, the king's aunt and friend of the missionaries, had recently died. The body was still lying in state, and all the chiefs of the neighbouring islands were summoned to escort the funeral, which was to take place in a few days. Being invited to attend, Sir Edward with the consul and officers of the Sulphur proceeded to the residence of the deceased princess, where they witnessed a degree of pomp not to be expected in a country so recently elevated above the condition of barbarism. The coffin, covered with crimson cloth and gilt ornaments, was placed on a bedstead, the curtains of which were black silk trimmed with white lace. The body of a carriage having been removed from the wheels, the frame of the bed was adapted to it, and formed a very handsome car. The troops and militia, amounting to four hundred, were all well clothed in white uniforms. Their evolutions are described as "admirable." The king's body-guard, amounting to twenty officers in scarlet jackets, some few with epaulettes, tinsel, and crape, marched with their swords reversed on each side of the bier; the troops with arms reversed preceded. His majesty as principal mourner, with the deceased's husband and the other chiefs, followed the car, the residents, consuls, and offi-

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, performed in Her Majesty's Ship Sulphur, during the years 1836-1842; including Details of the Naval Operations in China from December 1840 to 1841. By Captain Sir Edward Belcher, R. N., vol. i. p. 57-59.

cers, bringing up the rear. The concourse of females, supposed to have come from all the islands, the greater part well dressed in black silk, was astonishing.

The moment the procession advanced, the natives not included in it, but who lined the roads, which had been previously strewed with rushes and covered with mats, commenced the wail or lament; and the sound of so many voices in the most melancholy notes, tended not a little to augment the solemnity of the scene. On the car reaching the church, a thatched house about two hundred feet in length by sixty wide, the troops marched through, and the coffin was placed in front of the pulpit. The funeral service in the native language was performed by Mr Bingham, who added a discourse which continued two hours. The procession then moved on to the royal vault, where the body was deposited; the military fired three volleys in very good style; and thanks being returned by the minister to the foreigners who had attended, they all retired.

Ever since the commencement of missionary operations in the South Sea, there has existed among seafaring men a great variety of opinion as to the effects of the knowledge and principles thereby communicated to the natives. Kotzebue, it is well known, derided the whole system of European learning and faith, viewed as an acquisition by the uncultivated minds of savages. Beechey, separating with great discrimination the good from the evil, readily admitted the improvement which he remarked both in the Sandwich and Society Islands, but could not shut his eyes to the manifold inconveniences which, in the first instance, had resulted from the unrestricted intercourse of the simple inhabitants with the depraved adventurers who landed on their shores. Fitzroy saw much more to approve than condemn; admiring the zeal which warmed the breasts of the christian labourers, and extolling the decent manners which adorned their lives.

Captain Belcher, on the contrary, who repeatedly visited the dominions of Tamehameha, between the

years 1826 and the date of his last voyage, received impressions so extremely unfavourable to the purity of the motives which actuated the principal teachers at Oahu and Owhyhee, that he can hardly find words sufficiently strong to express his suspicions and resentment. He accuses them of ambition, arrogance, and, above all, of an undisguised attempt to invest themselves with political supremacy. According to his view, they act the part of dictators to the rulers, and of tyrants to the mass of the people; depriving the former of power, and the latter of nearly all the innocent enjoyments in which they were wont to indulge. Eighteen years ago they considered it a paramount duty to prevent the culture of the sugar-cane, coffee, and cotton. It will hardly be credited, he remarks, that one of them took an active part in destroying a considerable plantation; that the land was subsequently given for educational or religious purposes; and that the same individual is now cultivating the proscribed cane on the same ground! Another, with his own hand, destroyed some thousands of coffee-trees which were flourishing. He regrets that, for the credit of the gospel in those seas, members of the Church Missionary Society have not been sent to show them the mildness of true christian rule, instead of the tyranny of fanatics, who have already brought the protestant creed into contempt, and will probably in the end be expelled. Their violent conduct towards the two French brethren has recoiled upon themselves, for the Roman catholic religion is now tolerated in spite of them. The port of Honoruru, which, in the year 1827, received eight sail of whale ships as well as numerous traders, is at present nearly deserted. Intoxication is common, cleanliness is neglected, and disease continues to diminish the number of the people. Without reposing implicit confidence in the statistics supplied by either party, it is nowhere denied that, since the days of Cook and Vancouver, there has been a vast decrease in the population.

It cannot, however, have escaped the observation of the reader that, comparing the condition of society at

the present time with the ignorance and superstition which prevailed when the Sandwich Islands were first visited by the great English navigator, a vast progress has been made in the arts of civilized life, as well as in the more valuable attainment of religious knowledge. The funeral obsequies of Kinau mark in a very striking manner the advance which has taken place. Vice, it is true, is not yet entirely discountenanced even by the higher ranks, and the king himself occasionally presents to the public eye a grievous stumbling-book in the grossest intemperance. But it is to prevent such evils, or to punish them, that the missionaries have imposed checks on the importation of intoxicating liquors, which, though beneficial in more refined countries, cannot be used without danger by a people who have just emerged from the savage state.

In the Hydrographic Instructions issued to the commanding officer by the Admiralty, it is remarked, "political circumstances have invested the Columbia river with so much importance, that it will be well to devote some time to its bar and channels of approach, as well as to its inner anchorages and shores." In compliance with this order Captain Belcher directed his course towards that part of America in July 1839; and was surprised to find that the shoals at the entrance of this stream had so materially changed their features within the two preceding years as to occasion considerable danger to the Sulphur and Starling, the latter of which received some damage. He soon reached Fort George, celebrated in romance under the name of "Astoria," which since the Hudson's Bay Company removed their chief establishment to Fort Vancouver has sunk down into comparative insignificance. A small house for the clerk, two or three sheds for the Canadians, and a pine stick with a red ensign, are now its only distinctions. Not a gun or warlike appearance of any kind remains; being more like the commencement of a rude village than the ruins of a fortified station. The natural scenery is similar to that of all the northern coast, being wooded

to the water's edge, and differing little except in the varieties of pine.

On the ninth of August he reached Fort Vancouver, which is situated in lat. 45° 35′ 53″ N. and long. 122° 20′ 10″ W., and, in a direct line, eighty-two miles from the mouth of the Columbia. The name might seem to indicate that it is a place of strength, whereas it is nothing more than the mercantile post of the Hudson's Bay Company. It stands near the northern bank of the river, and consists of an enclosure three hundred yards square, surrounded by a palisade eighteen feet high, composed of roughly split pine logs. The houses of the residents as well as the stores of the company are within this enclosure, forming two squares. The gates are constantly open during the day, and no guard is mounted; the vicinity of the native tribes creating no alarm, either for goods or personal safety. In front indeed of the building occupied by the head of the establishment are two long twenty-four pounders and two ship carronades; and it is added, that, when turned out, every man is found with a well-tried rifle and a couteau de chasse or other efficient means of defence. Still, the security which is enjoyed is a pleasing proof of the complete discipline to which the neighbouring Indians have been reduced, and of the contentment which characterizes their demeanour.

Some years ago the company came to the determination of forming settlements on the rich lands situated on the Wallamette and other rivers, and providing for their retired servants by allotting them farms and supplying them with cattle. That on the current just named soon became so important as to require the services of a missionary; but instead of selecting a British subject to afford them spiritual aid, the colonists applied to the Americans for one, a course pregnant with evil consequences, particularly with reference to the political discussions which ensued. No sooner had this teacher and his friends located themselves, which act they deemed equivalent to taking possession of the country, than

they invited others from the States to join them, and then called on their government for protection.

This position has, it is asserted, not only become a source of dispute which has again roused the Americans, but from the fact of its containing many old servants of the company, unaccustomed to restraint, and whose first appeal is their rifle, is very likely to cause some more serious trouble. They are already making vociferous claims to the right of soil; and when the Sulphur left the Columbia, a large body of republicans were entering its plains to establish a permanent settlement. On the Catlamet, another important river, they have two missionaries, one protestant, the other Roman catholic; but as the land here unquestionably belongs to the governors of Hudson's Bay, and is on the northern side, there is not at present any immediate fear of intrusion.

The whole of the territory near the Columbia has by means of British capital and enterprise attained such a degree of importance, that the government of Washington, or at least the rulers of the western states, have become extremely desirous to secure it for their people; and having their eyes open to what has been virtually lost by an injudicious attempt of the Astorian Company, to obtain by negotiation a value for that which in a few hours would have been our property by actual occupation, they attempt to disavow the legality of the transfer. "This," says Sir Edward, "renders the matter still worse, as, had the capture taken place, they might with some plea of propriety have looked for its restoration at the peace. But if *bona fide* purchasers are, at this late date, to be marred in their speculation, the ultimate consequences of which they doubtless anticipated, then must we bid farewell to good faith in mercantile transactions; for in no other light than that of a plain transfer of private property can it honestly be contemplated."*

These matters must be finally settled by the inter-

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World &c., vol. i. p. 298.

position of the supreme governments, for among the settlers, whether British or American, there is neither power nor temper suited to the adjustment of such weighty concerns.

An incident worthy of special notice is mentioned by the author of this Voyage, which seems to throw some light on the origin of the Sandwich islanders. A Japanese junk had been wrecked on the American coast near the mouth of the Columbia, part of the cargo of which still remained in the hands of the natives. In 1833, a similar event took place on the coast of Oahu, when every thing was lost but the crew and a few trifling articles. The men remained at Honoruru eighteen months, when they were forwarded to Kamtschatka, whence they hoped eventually to work their way by stealth into their own country, approaching by the line of the most northern islands of the group. When the people of Otaheite saw the junk, and learned from what part of the world it had come, they said it was plain now whence they themselves originated. They had before concluded that they had not come from either of the great continents on the north or east; but, seeing on this occasion a people much resembling themselves in person and in many of their habits—a people, too, who came to those islands without designing to come—they said, "it is plain we came from Asia," meaning the insular kingdoms on the extremity of the Asiatic coast. The ultimate fate of the few individuals who survived the loss of their vessel is still unknown; but in the case of those whose lives were saved near Queen Charlotte's Sound, and who were sent from England to Japan, it is recorded that their countrymen refused to receive them; so much do they suspect and abominate all intercourse with foreigners.

In the public instructions already mentioned, the hydrographer of the admiralty remarks, "it has been suggested by some geologists that the coral insect, instead of raising its superstructure directly from the bottom of the sea, works only on the summit of sub-

marine mountains which have been projected upwards by volcanic action. They account, therefore, for the basin-like form so generally observed in coral islands, by supposing that they insist on the circular lip of extinct volcanic craters. In order by a satisfactory experiment to bring this question to a direct issue, their lordships have ordered you to be supplied with a complete set of the boring apparatus used by miners; leaving it to your own judgment to select any coral island which may be well adapted to the purpose, and which will lead you as little as possible from the line of your survey. They wish you to fix upon a convenient spot of the island where the operation cannot be disturbed by the surf, and there to bore perpendicularly so as to perforate the whole thickness of the coral, and to enter the tool sufficiently deep in the rock on which it is based, to furnish specimens for future analysis."

The experiment thus enjoined was made at Bow Island, but not with the success which could have been desired, though every exertion was made by officers and crew. The material through which the auger had to pass was a fine coralline sand, which yielded with difficulty, owing to the lateral pressure, though the stratum itself was still very soft. The smallest piece of coral became a great obstruction, and the attempt to crush it created much delay, because the softness of the surrounding substance rendered the action of the instruments unavailing. At length, by dint of perseverance, and the adoption of some ingenious contrivances, forty-five feet of pipe were entered; but, at this point, the pressure becoming too great for the joints, the solder gave way, and the auger was no longer useful. Against these disadvantages the party contrived to struggle about a week, when having again reached the depth of forty-five feet, the sudden falling in from beneath so effectually locked the tools, that no direct force on the levers could move them. They did not, however, altogether relinquish the undertaking, till, after a continued effort of thirty-five days, they found that, in order to

accomplish the object contemplated by the admiralty, it would be necessary to employ a professional borer with all his smithy resources. The captain, indeed, did not expect that any thing harder than sand would be found at a greater depth than twenty feet; but it ought to be observed that Bow Island, not being of basaltic or volcanic origin, does not perhaps belong to the class of formations where the experiment would have been most satisfactorily tried, and the result considered most decisive.

Leaving Bow Island, without having been able to throw any light on the process by which the coral animal performs its mysterious work in the recesses of the great deep, the commander of the Sulphur steered westward, and at length found himself at Otaheite. His opinions on the state of society in that little kingdom, so full of interest to all who have traced the progress of discovery in the Pacific, are of more than usual importance, because having been there in 1826 as an officer in the Blossom, he was qualified to compare the present with the past, and thereby to measure the progress of civilisation under the successor of Pomare the Second. As an old acquaintance he expected to have met a cordial reception from her majesty, but he subsequently learned that she had been so much harassed by threats of vengeance from various nations as to dread the approach of every stranger. No sooner, however, did she learn that he had not come to make any demand for satisfaction, after the manner of the French and Americans, than her coldness passed away, and full permission was given to refit the ships and even to obtain supplies.

The island had been thrown into no small confusion by the conduct of her husband, a native of Huaheine, a youth who appears to be equally destitute of principle and gratitude. Mistaking his position, he considered himself above the law; and accordingly, when charged with a serious offence, he refused to appear in court or to acknowledge the authority of the judges. As the

interests of a British subject were involved in the decision of a particular case, Sir Edward did not refuse to give his advice when solicited at a public meeting of the chiefs. In reply to their complaint that their statutes were frequently disregarded by foreigners, he reminded them of the duty, especially incumbent upon them as counsellors of the queen, of preventing their laws from being brought into contempt by being tampered with by one of their own body. At length the royal spouse submitted, having been informed that the queen would not screen him from any sentence which might be pronounced on the ground of contumacy and contempt; and on this occasion Captain Belcher expressed himself satisfied that he had at length seen his error and submitted to the laws of his country. He added, that he merely wished the judges to point out to him, in the presence of her majesty, the chiefs, and people, the absence of all right on his part to interfere with the government, being merely the king-consort, and not even entitled to the power which belongs to the head of a tribe. The hint was immediately seized by two of the leaders, who stepped forward, and in the most energetic language told him his faults, and finally exhorted him to stay more at home and attend to the interests of his wife and family.

But the young prince of Huaheine, though submissive in the presence of the council, could not long suppress his vindictive feelings. After the lapse of a few days, the British consul appeared on board the Sulphur, stating that he was the bearer of a message from the queen, intreating that the captain would delay his departure till after the May meeting, as the king in a fit of intoxication had assaulted her in a most brutal manner on the high road, and even attempted to kill her with a stone. Being resisted by her female retinue, as well as by two young men who happened to be passing, he seized her by the hair, and gave full vent to the ferocious passions which had impelled him to the act. She fled to the house of a cooper, where she was con-

cealed. Upon inquiry it was ascertained that he had fallen from his horse, overcome by drink, and that she had rushed to him with all the ardour of affection to avert the danger with which he was threatened. On his return to the house he destroyed all the presents she had received, as well as her dresses and ornaments, and even attempted to set fire to her humble palace. The consul took her under his protection, and Sir Edward declared his willingness to remain a few days, provided she would assure him of her determination to rid herself of so dangerous and detestable a character. But her fears and resentment soon passed away: next morning it was made known that she had forgiven him, at the same time returning her warmest thanks to the English captain for his attention to her interests. Pomare, though only twenty-eight, bears the appearance of age, and is very corpulent. She does not possess one single trace of the pretty little girl whom the navigator recollected as Aimatta in the year 1826.

In regard to the Otaheitans in general, it is the decided opinion of Captain Belcher that, with the introduction of dress, the peculiar religious feeling he noticed fourteen years previously has entirely vanished. They were then simple in the extreme; they are now comparatively civilized. The introduction of foreigners has broken down the barrier which restrained them, and would have perpetuated their natural features.

At Rarotonga, where there is less trade, the condition of society presents much more agreeable features, and while civilisation advances morality is not forgotten. The house of Mr Buzacott, the principal missionary, surpasses in point of neatness and comfort every similar residence in the South Sea. The roads, enclosures, church, school, and cottages are an age in advance of Otaheite. Great care has been taken to teach the people useful arts; and they now manufacture tables, chairs, and sofas with cane bottoms, fit for any of the middling classes in England. A pair of their arm-chairs was procured to grace even the cabin of the Sulphur. The

wonderful! 2 D

timber of the tamenu, of which they are made, may vie with Honduras mahogany in beauty, and is far superior in lasting qualities. The church is an extensive wood and plaster building, capable of containing about one thousand persons; it occupies one side of the road, and the native school stands opposite to it. In the latter is a printing-press, where was also shown a manuscript copy of the New Testament, clearly and intelligibly written, the work of one of the pupils. A covered building, or extensive shed, near the landing-place, is used as a market. There was found an old chief, neatly dressed in European costume,—cotton shirt, white trousers, and white frock-coat,—superintending purchases for the captains of three American whalers. Eighteen years ago the island was in a state of absolute barbarism, and all the people heathens!

The effects of missionary exertion, wisely directed, are nowhere more conspicuous. "It is pleasing," says the author of the Narrative, "to witness the influence which Mr Buzacott has acquired; not the servile fear of the Sandwich Islanders, but an honest, warm-hearted attachment. He is a pattern for missionaries: such men by their labours improve all around them. They manifest their superiority by their ability to instruct others, and they leave behind them lasting monuments of their usefulness in the increased civilisation and happiness of the people. To prevent any inroad upon their repose and prosperity, he warned them against the introduction of foreign settlers, who have done much injury both at Otaheite and Oahu. A very judicious code of port regulations is printed, a copy of which is furnished to every vessel on arrival; and such as do not comply are excluded from all communication. Deserters find no refuge. Spirits are prohibited; and order at night is ensured by preventing all strangers from remaining on shore after dark.

The fatal diseases which have from time to time prevailed in this island, and, on one occasion, nearly depopulated it, give rise to some observations not unde-

serving of notice on the part of medical practitioners. The distemper which now principally prevails is first indicated by a swelling in the glands of the throat, which subsequently expands into an ulcer discharging a thin serous matter. Formerly it was considered quite incurable, and the patient of course was almost instantly abandoned to his fate; but recently, as it has been found to yield to judicious treatment, it no longer retains its malignant character. It has usually been asserted, without much inquiry, that the decrease of population in the several islands is owing to an unrestrained intercourse with foreigners; an opinion which is entirely unsupported by the history of Rarotonga. The malady which, in the days of the late missionary Williams, swept away so large a portion of the inhabitants, had no resemblance whatever to any European disease. It is therefore the opinion of the medical officer who served in the Sulphur, that many of the ailments which have appeared since the visits of our early discoverers ought to be ascribed to the sudden change from one species of food to another. The people of Pitcairn Island, whose habits of reflection entitle their conclusions to some weight, attributed occasional illnesses to the cause now mentioned, and informed Captain Beechey that they would suffer severely from his visit, or rather from the festivities which accompanied it. Nor can there be any doubt that the mode of clothing the body now in use, compared with the almost total absence of dress, and the discontinuance of the ablutions in which the natives were wont to indulge, will account in no small degree for those cutaneous and glandular affections now so common in Polynesia.

Captain Belcher, who stopped at several ports in the Fijee group, found that the frequent presence of white men, and the constant residence of several indigenous missionaries, had produced little change on the temper of the inhabitants. The same savage manners, and the same propensity to cannibalism which shocked the followers of Cook, continue to manifest themselves among

all classes. Even the chiefs acknowledge that they would eat the bodies of their enemies, though they gave no particular preference to human flesh. Nor has civilisation made greater progress at New Ireland and New Guinea; the notices concerning which groups, though interesting to voyagers who may have occasion to touch at their shores, present nothing inviting to any other order of men. Amboyna and the minor Moluccas furnish nothing more new or interesting than the numerous archipelagoes with which the neighbouring straits abound; for the Dutch, whose principal motive is the extension of trade, are averse to sudden changes in the condition of the aborigines, whose labour they employ to great advantage, and with whose faith they do not intermeddle. At Singapore, Sir Edward received several official letters, of which the purport was that he should retrace his steps and join the squadron in China, then actively employed in the Canton river in reducing the enemy's forts and batteries.

The events which marked the progress and close of the Chinese war are much too recent and well known to justify any abstract from the pages of the Narrative, which, in point of fact, contain hardly any thing interesting but what respects the limited movements of the Sulphur and Starling, when employed in burning junks or in demolishing ramparts. The captain of the former, indeed, mentions a case where the mercantile spirit predominated over the more noble sentiment of patriotism. There was great reason to suspect that ammunition and arms, both small and large, were supplied to the foe by British agents at Singapore, and even the more regular emporium of Madras. These articles were landed at Macao, nominally addressed to Portuguese merchants; but, nevertheless, no doubt was entertained that they were subsequently sold to the Chinese authorities, and employed, too, against the country whose artisans had fabricated them.

1841 On the 14th November 1841, the Sulphur was ordered home, the Starling having been paid off, and her crew

transferred to the former. About the middle of February, Captain Belcher reached the Sechelles Islands, called originally by the French "Les Isles Labourdonnaises," and subsequently described under the name they now bear, in honour of the Viscount de Sechelles. The principal harbour, formerly Mahé, is at present known as Port Victoria; a change which has occasioned some dissatisfaction to the colonists, whose national feelings have not yet yielded to the policy of their present masters. Including the whole group, the number of islands amounts to twenty-nine; the largest being twenty-five miles in length, and not less than five miles broad at the widest point. Of this cluster it has been said that few parts of the world are so favoured by nature. Situated in the middle of the Indian Ocean, nearly equidistant from the lands on the east and west, they offer, besides a secure roadstead, a climate equable and salubrious. Not liable to abrupt changes of atmosphere, they are exempted from those diseases so common to other tropical regions: nor are they ever visited by hurricanes, those scourges of the South Sea, which so often destroy all agricultural efforts, and are inevitably followed by misery and despondence. They were taken by the English in the year 1794, by Captain Newcome of the Orpheus, who, in the name of his Britannic majesty, demanded an instant surrender of the principal island and its dependencies, "with every thing belonging thereto." The productions are said to be cotton, coffee, cocoa, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, anatto, and maize, together with fruits and vegetables of every species found within the tropics. It is, indeed, a garden in which every thing would thrive; and timber well calculated for shipbuilding may be had in the greatest abundance. Since 1810, accordingly, the dock-yards have sent forth no fewer than forty-five vessels, ranging from thirty to four hundred tons. Supplies of fish, turtles, and bullocks, can be had on easy terms. A jetty for heaving down ships might be easily constructed, the reefs within the port affording every facility, rising suddenly within

a foot of the sea level, and having a depth of three or four fathoms at the distance of thirty feet, which would readily admit the keel of a seventy-four.*

This volume might be considered incomplete, did it not give some account of the voyage to which reference is made at the two hundredth and thirty second page; that, namely, performed by Captains Ross and Crozier, who respectively commanded the Erebus and Terror. These two ships, about the end of September 1839, left England, and after making observations at Madeira and Port Praya, reached St Helena on the 31st January following. As the expedition was charged with scientific objects not less than with instructions to make discoveries in the high latitudes of the South Sea, the officers pursued the course now indicated, with the view of ascertaining the point of greatest magnetic intensity and the nature of the curve where that intensity is weakest. It may be stated, in passing, that the large portion of the Atlantic Ocean so traversed, possesses a smaller magnetic power than any similar space on the surface of the globe. The position of the curve or line, as proceeding from the north, being thus determined, it will be comparatively easy, at all future periods, to mark its progress, and establish a certain rule in regard to the principle which fixes its movement. The line of no-dip, or magnetic equator, was by means of the same observations satisfactorily made known; and on the ground of the results thus obtained was established a simple theorem for explaining all the changes which it may hereafter manifest.

Having aided in the erection of the magnetic establishment at St Helena, the expedition sailed again on the 6th of February, and in due time arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where similar services were performed. A series of experiments were made daily on the temperature and specific gravity of the sea, at depths varying from 180 to 600 fathoms, and at length

* Narrative of a Voyage round the World, &c., vol. ii. p. 283.

soundings at the bottom of the ocean were obtained; thereby supplying to the philosopher ample materials for arriving at well-founded conclusions relative to the physical condition of that important element in various latitudes between the equator and antarctic circle.

After leaving the Cape, the system of magnetic investigation was sedulously continued, in order to connect the results of the voyage with those of the several observatories established in other parts of the world. On the 12th May they reached Kerguelen's Land; and on the 29th, the day previously fixed for simultaneous observations in the two hemispheres, the state of the apparatus was noted every two minutes during twenty-four hours. It fortunately happened that one of those magnetic storms or perturbations occurred, which have attracted the attention of scientific men in various parts of Europe; and the manner in which it affected the instruments in a remote part of the South Sea, as well as at Toronto, the same instant of time, afforded a convincing proof of the vast extent of magnetic influence pervading the earth's diameter, and which moves with a velocity equal to that of light or of the electric fluid.

In following out his discoveries in the antarctic circle, Captain Ross resolved to avoid all interference with Mr Wilkes and Commodore D'Urville, who had been sent by their respective governments of America and France to explore the same seas, with the view of removing all doubt as to the existence of a great southern continent. He directed his course towards the extreme south, at about the 170° of east longitude, in which meridian, it was presumed, the isodynamic curve and the point exactly between the two foci of greater magnetic intensity would be determined, in the space which separated the tracks of Bellinghausen and the celebrated Cook. It was then his intention to steer south-west towards the pole, rather than attempt an approach directly from the north, in parts already pursued without success.

It is well known that the great English navigator was impressed with the conviction that there must be land beyond the vast fields of ice, by which his progress beyond the seventy-first degree of latitude was finally arrested. "That there may be a continent or large tract of land near the pole, I will not deny; on the contrary, I am of opinion there is; and it is probable that we have seen a part of it. The excessive cold, the many islands and vast floats of ice, all tend to prove that there must be land to the south; and for my persuasion that this southern land must lie or extend farther to the north opposite to the southern Atlantic and Indian Oceans, I have already assigned some reasons, to which I may add the greater degree of cold experienced by us in these seas than in the southern Pacific Ocean under the same parallels."*

In this conjecture Captain Cook, though proceeding on a philosophical principle, is now suspected to have reached his conclusion too hastily; for the very large island discovered by the commander of the Erebus, and which now bears the name of Victoria Land, is situated in long. 171° 7′ east, nearly in the meridian of New Zealand, and of course opposite to the Southern Pacific. It was on the 11th January 1841 that this accession was made to the dominions of Great Britain, and it was seen at the distance of nearly a hundred miles. As the ships approached, the interior was seen to rise in lofty peaks, varying from nine to twelve thousand feet in height, entirely covered with snow, and projecting immense glaciers into the sea to the extent of several leagues. On the twelfth day of the month Captain Ross and a number of officers from both ships landed, and took possession of the country in the name of the queen. With the intention of ascertaining the extent of this southern land, they sailed along its eastern shore about six hundred miles, opposed day after day by strong gales and violent showers of snow.

* Cook's Second Voyage, chapters iii. and vii.

In the 76° of latitude, they observed a mountain not less than 12,000 feet above the level of the ocean, emitting volumes of flame and smoke; to which volcano they gave the appropriate name of Erebus, while an extinct crater to the eastward received the appellation of Mount Terror. Following still the main land in its southern trending, they encountered a barrier stretching from a prominent cape, and presenting a perpendicular face of at least 150 feet in height, which shut up the prospect of farther advance in that quarter. They could just discern beyond this elevated point a range of very lofty mountains towards the south-east, and in the latitude of seventy-nine degrees,—the most southern land ever seen or recorded by a European navigator. Proceeding towards the east, they examined the outlines of the barrier just mentioned, and at length found themselves in the parallel of 78° 4′, the highest latitude they were at any time able to attain, and to the longitude of 191° 31′ east, being a distance of fully three hundred miles. Their farther progress was completely stopped by an immense field of heavily packed ice pressing closely against the coast; and the narrow lane through which they had hitherto forced their way, being completely barred by the return of frost, nothing but a strong breeze, which they fortunately enjoyed, could have put it in their power to retrace their steps.*

Pushing towards the west, Captain Ross reached for the second time the latitude of 76° 8′ in the meridian of 164°, the supposed position of the magnetic pole, where he found the dip of the needle 88.40 and the

* "The volume of smoke ejected by the volcano was in sudden jets, and attained an altitude of 2000 feet; the diameter at the crater's mouth was about 300 feet, and it gradually assumed the shape of an inverted cone till it was 500 or 600 feet at its highest elevation. The smoke then gradually dispersed and left the crater quite clear, filled with intensely bright flame flashing even in the face of the meridian sun. The permanent snow extends to the very edge of the crater, and no appearance of lava streams could be detected on the surface."

variation 109.24 east. From these facts it was calculated that they were not farther distant than a hundred and fifty-seven miles from the centre of magnetic influence in the southern hemisphere. It was at the same time satisfactorily ascertained that the conjectures of Professor Gauss, as to the supposed position of the pole, were inaccurate.

Before returning to Van Diemen's Land, the officers made another attempt to go ashore on the northern coast of the newly discovered country, which was however defeated by the heavy pack-ice, now girding the whole coast. They found it to terminate abruptly in lat. 70° 40′, trending considerably to the southward of west; and, as they had already traced it to the latitude of 79°, the length amounts, as specified above, to six hundred miles at least. The route of the expedition lay near the chain of islands discovered by Balleny in 1839, and more minutely examined by the French and Americans the following year. The antarctic continent of Mr Wilkes was found to have no existence; this voyager, like Bouvet and others, having been deceived by the appearance of ice-islands seen indistinctly through a fog.

Leaving Hobart Town, and New Zealand, where the winter was spent in conducting magnetical experiments, the Erebus and Terror proceeded to resume the examination of the polar seas on a more westerly meridian than in the former year. They encountered the ice in a lower latitude than in 1840; a proof that, according to the comparative mildness or severity of the season, the obstruction in question extends more or less to the north. In the hope that it would gradually yield to the approach of summer and their own exertions, the crews resolutely met the toil and the danger; but, after pushing the ships forward through a dense field until the pack became so close that they were obliged to pause, it was not till the first day of January 1842 that they again succeeded in crossing the antarctic circle. The intense brightness of the sky indicated that they would

still have to encounter vast bodies of ice in the south, whilst more encouraging appearances held out an inducement to try their fortune in a westerly direction.

On the 19th, they had succeeded in reaching within a few miles of the open water, when a violent gale arose, which placed them in a situation of appalling jeopardy. The rudder of the Erebus was shattered, and that of the Terror was soon afterwards utterly destroyed. The two ships were but one wave apart, and the masses of ice, agitated by the furious billows, threatened instant destruction to both. On the 21st, the storm abated, and, though nearly beset in the close field, they went to work to repair damage and make ready for new exertions. Their condition was indeed somewhat forlorn, and their disappointment was the greater that the shortening days announced the close of the season. They had however gone through the pack, in a direct line, not less than four hundred and fifty miles, and were farther south than either Cook or Bellinghausen could penetrate in more favourable weather. On the 2d February, they escaped from the prison of the thick-ribbed ice, after being detained in it forty-six days; and upon issuing forth they found themselves in lat. 67° 8′ and long. 159° east. Though little time now remained, they determined to advance, pursuing their course southward along the edge of the field; and on the 22d, at midnight, they had the satisfaction to reach the great barrier, a few miles eastward of the spot where the survey of the former year had concluded. Enjoying the benefit of a strong breeze, they were able to trace the line of this vast ice-board a hundred and thirty miles more eastward than in 1841, but they could not make their way any farther towards the pole. They therefore steered for Cape Horn, where they found at once provisions and the means of restoring the ships to a serviceable state; both having sustained serious damage in a violent storm which took place on the 12th March.

The labours of the third year, though marked by the same courage and perseverance which gained the former

triumphs, were not attended with equal success. Guided by the information received from Weddell, who had found open water to the 74° of latitude, and nearly in the meridian of Tierra del Fuego, the commodore directed his course southward in a more western line than he had hitherto followed. On the 28th December 1842, he discovered land extending S. to S. W. by W.; but its shores were loaded with such an extraordinary accumulation of grounded icebergs as to prevent all approach nearer than three or four miles. After overcoming many difficulties, the officers finally succeeded in landing, when they took possession of the country in the name of her majesty. At the entrance of the gulf is an island, which, though not more than two miles in diameter, presents a perfectly formed crater to the height of 3000 feet above the level of the surrounding ocean. A magnificent table-topped mountain to the right rises to an elevation of 7000 feet; and the whole western shore of this spacious inlet consists of very lofty ranges covered with everlasting snow. It was named the Gulf of Erebus and Terror; expanding about forty miles between the capes, and nearly as many in depth. Coursing the land to the south-westward, Captain Ross found it, to the extent of twenty miles, entirely free from snow; but no opening encouraged the hope that, before the lengthening night would fall on him, he might be able to determine the boundaries of his late discovery, and connect it with Victoria Land.

About the end of February he rounded the extremity of the pack, standing to the south-east, and entered the Antarctic Ocean on the 1st of March, in long. 7° 30′ W. He next attempted to steer southward, between the tracks of Weddell and Bellinghausen. A few days after, when in lat. 68° 34′ and long. 12° 49′ W., he attempted soundings; but a line of 4000 fathoms failed to reach the ground. Finding all farther efforts unavailing, he left the polar regions on the 12th, and on the 4th April anchored at the Cape of Good Hope.

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Printed by Oliver & Boyd,
Tweeddale Court, High Street, Edinburgh.

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